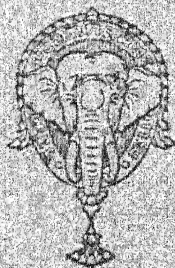


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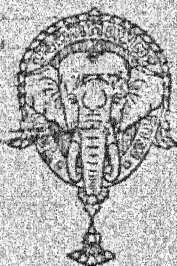
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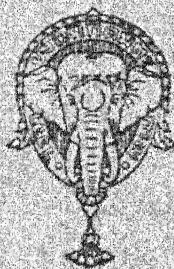
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THE KOH LAK TRADITION

by

FRANCIS H. GILES.

PART ONE.

The Tradition and a Few Introductory Remarks.

Before recording the Koh Lak Tradition it may be helpful to the reader to know the geographical position of Koh Lak. Koh Lak is officially known as Prachuab Kirikanta (ประจวบคีรีขันธ์). This place, the centre of this tradition, is situated on the Southern Railway, 318 kilometres from Bangkok, and is on the western side of a beautiful bay which is practically land-locked. The entrance to this bay from the Gulf of Siam is through a narrow passage, near which stands Koh Lak, the pillar island, and Koh Hai Lam, the Harlow Island. These islands are in reality rocks projecting from the bed of the sea, and are of considerable altitude. They are the homes of the *seruu* or wild goat. Lying to the north, two or three miles distant, is Kao Mawng Lai (เขานมลาย). It was on this prominence that Prince Mawng Lai lived. In ancient days this territory was divided for administrative purposes into a number of small governorships. Koh Lak is a strategic position of some importance. Firstly the little harbour is protected from the fury of the north-east monsoon. The water is shallow, but this could be rectified by dredging. A few miles north of Koh Lak is a low pass through the hills which leads to Mergui and Tanao Sri in Burma. South of Koh Lak is Ban Krut (บ้านครุฑ), from which place also one can move into Burma, for there is another low pass lying a few miles to the west of this place.

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A short distance south of Krut (ครุฑ) is Bang Ta-phan (บางตะพาน), lying a mile or so inland from the sea on a river of that name. About twelve miles west of Bang Ta-phan (บางตะพาน) are the gold mines of Paron (ปารอน). These mines have been worked from time immemorial. The gold is very pure, but is found only in small quantities. Many years ago a European Company tried to work these mines on a commercial scale, but failed, losing a great sum of money. The people still wash a little gold every year. South of Bang Ta-phan (บางตะพาน) we come to Chumphorn (ชุมพร), lying on the eastern side of the Isthmus of Kra (คอคอตกกระ). This Isthmus has been used as a trade route for several thousand years. It is probable that the trade between India and the ancient Kingdoms of Punam (พุนาม), Cham (จัม), Cambodia (แควมโอบเต็ย), and China passed over this road. To the south of this there is another route, starting from Takuapa (ตะกั่วป่า), known to the ancients as Takola (ตาโกลา), lying on the west coast of Siam. Passing over the watershed this route abuts on the Gulf of Siam near Chaiya (ไชยา). South of Chaiya (ไชยา) we come to Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj (นครศรีธรรมราช). Both Chaiya and Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj have been the capitals of ancient and powerful Kingdoms. These places were colonized by Indians, the Cholas and Pandyas. Their princes were Indian. The territory embraced within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj was known as Tamra-ling-ka or Tam-pa-ling-Ka. It is interesting to know that this word is of Southern Indian origin. It means copper-colour marked, a term the Pandyas used when describing territories occupied by them. When these people conquered Ceylon they gave it the name of Tamra-parani, because they had to cross a river whose waters were copper-coloured. Having described the territories lying to the south of Koh Lak and those to the west, it may be as well to say what lies to the north. To the north are the old towns of Kwi (กวี) and Pran (ปราน), which have some historical importance, and farther to the north again we come to Bejraburi (เบ็ชร์บุรี), which was known in olden times as Padja (พัตตา). This place, Padja (พัตตา), as well as the region lying to the north along the valley of the Meklong river, notably the town of Rajaburi (ราชบุรี), had also been Indianized.

It will be seen from what I have said that Koh Lak stands on historic ground; the southern marches of the Thai people passed over this territory. Many battles must have been fought here, and the battle mentioned in the Koh Lak Tradition was one of those which took place during the southern expansion of Thai power. Since those days the Thai have fought the Môn (มอญ), the Burman (พม่า) and the Cambodian on this ground.

Although we do not know who Prince Mawng Lai (มอญลำไย) was, or the exact period during which he flourished, an attempt will be made in Part III to clarify this obscurity. Perhaps the name of Mawng Lai's daughter, Yom Doey, may give us a clue as to who her father was. Yom Doey is without doubt not a Thai name. It is said to be the name of a flowering tree or plant, but I have been unable to verify this after consulting with botanists and those versed in forestry. The word is used to represent a flower in the Vessantara Jataka or "Birth Story." The reference will be found in that portion of the story which recounts that Mathri, when in search of forest fruits, pointing said: "There is the Saiyud (สายหยุด), and over there is the Bud Prayong (พุทประยงค์), and yonder is the Yom Doey (ยมไถย)." My suggestion is that the word Yom Doey is of Indian origin, either Cholian or Pandyan. However this is a matter for philologists to decide.

The reader of the Tradition will notice that a fortune-teller or astrologer, named Bejr, and his wife Nang Ai, were living in Mawng Lai's territory. These people were Thai; the name of the man and his wife are somewhat significant; the man, being called Bejr, probably came from the then Thai city of Padja (Bejraburi), and his wife was called Ai, which has the meaning of "first", the first Thai woman to settle in this region. It is well known that no man is a prophet in his own country, and all prophets and most fortune-tellers and astrologers are strangers in the land. These two people were such strangers. On the death of Mawng Lai, being overcome by fear they fled in a northerly direction to the Cock-fighting Hill in the Province of Kanchanaburi. It is noteworthy that the Cock-fighting Hill is mentioned in the Koh Lak Tradition. This place must have been of some historical importance in connection with some event. In the story Khun Chang Khun Phan

(ขุนช้างขุนแผน), the hill is mentioned in one passage, which says: "Phra Phan Sa Narakorn" (พระพรษานนการ) in his anger commanded the putting to death of Khun Krai (ขุนไกร). His wife, named Thong Prasri (ทองประศรี), being afraid that she would become a royal slave or widow (such a status being intolerable to a free woman), fled from Ayodhya and went to hide in the village of the Cock-fighting Hill. It is probable that a battle was fought near this place between the Thai and an opposing force.

The following is the Tradition rendered into English:—

It is related by the people living in the vicinity of Koh Lak (the Pillar island) that in ancient days there lived here a prince named Mawng Lai (มอญลาย), which means the "look out place". He had a wife, Rampung (รำพึง) meaning "remembrance", and a daughter called Yom Doey (ยมโดย), the name of a flowering shrub. Their house was built on the shore of a small bay (อ่าวน้อย), a continuation of the Mawng Lai Hill. Mawng Lai was a man of great stature and strength. His weapon was a club, having a circumference of 15 hand-breadths (about 1.6 metres) and a length of 16 metres. One day Mawng Lai dreamt that he was struck by lightning. He told the story of his dream to a friend called Bejr (เบ็จ), whose wife was named Ai (อ้าย). This man was an astrologer, a fortune-teller, and he interpreted the dream to mean Mawng Lai would be fortunate and obtain wealth. Mawng Lai decided to set forth in search of wealth, and bidding farewell to his wife and daughter, picked up his club, put a bag (ย่ามละว้า) containing what he required for the journey on his shoulder, and went down from the house.

The story now relates the entry of a Chinese prince named Muak (หมวก) on the scene. This prince had heard of the extraordinary beauty of Yom Doey, the reputation of which was sufficient to cause him to become so enamoured of her, that he determined to request her hand in marriage. The prince, having bade farewell to his father, the Emperor of China, went with a fleet of a hundred sailing vessels to Koh Lak to ask for Yom Doey. On his arrival at Koh Lak he approached Yom Doey herself, but she refused to accept his advances. The prince was so grieved at this refusal that he decided to call on the spirit of his grandfather to help him. [The

word used here is Devapu (เทพผู้); the young man being a prince, his grandfather would naturally be a god and reside in the realm of the gods.] The prince placed himself in a state of mental poise, approximating to a trance. The spirit of his ancestor entered into him. The spirit gave him a charm or love philtre composed of wax, powder and sandal wood oil, having the property of making any one touched therewith fall in love. The prince prepared gifts for Ram Phung which had been sprinkled with this love philtre. Such feelings of pity and commiseration were aroused in the heart of Ram Phung that she gave the prince opportunities of meeting her daughter alone. Yom Doey became enamoured of the prince, which resulted in a clandestine love intrigue. The young prince having gained the love of the girl, formally asked for her in marriage from her mother. A date, namely, Tuesday the 9th day of the waxing of the 12th month, was fixed for the wedding. Tuesday is held to be a good day, but in that year it so fell out that it was an evil day, and any one doing anything on Tuesday in that year was bound to meet with misfortune. Prince Muak sent a letter conveying the joyful tidings of his approaching marriage to his father, the Emperor, who immediately set out with a fleet of five hundred vessels for Koh Lak to conduct the marriage ceremony.

Mawng Lai, travelling in a north-westerly direction came to the city of Padja (พิจา), where reigned a Prince Ubalabong (อุบลบอง). This prince had a son called Laya (ลาย). The young prince having heard of the beauty of Yom Doey, begged his father to ask for her in marriage from Mawng Lai. Mawng Lai consented to give his daughter to Laya, and Tuesday the 9th of the waxing of the 12th month was fixed for the wedding. Prince Laya, accompanied by Mawng Lai, and escorted by an army, set out for Koh Lak. The road was barred by an army of Yaksas (ยักษ์). A battle was fought, and the Yaksas were defeated. The young prince continued his journey, and came to a great swamp. Mawng Lai commanded the Yaksas to bring gold and make a bridge over the swamp. The party skirted the frontiers of Padja and camped at the Red Hill (เขาแดง). At this place the bowl containing betel nuts and leaves, a symbol of betrothal, was prepared for presentation to the parents of the girl. A number of hares were kept in an enclosure on a hill near by. When Mawng Lai arrived at his home, he learnt that his daughter had a

lover and that his wife had agreed to marry the girl to her lover, a prince from China. This news caused Mawng Lai to become enraged. When Prince Laya was told of the approaching marriage of Yom Doey to Prince Muak, he thought of attacking Prince Muak and seizing the person of Yom Doey. Mawng Lai thought of a plan to prevent fighting between the two princes. He was so enraged at what had taken place without his consent that he killed his daughter Yom Doey, and her maid Song (สง). He cut off their breasts throwing them in different directions. One fell in the country of Outer Annam (ญวนนอก), one at Chantaburi (Inner Annam) (ญวนใน), one at Songkla (สงขลา), and one in the island of Hainan (or Hailam). The body of Yom Doey fell in the Bay of Pak Panang (ปากพนัง), and the body of Song fell on the face of a hill in the island of Langka (Ceylon). He kicked his wife Ram Phung, breaking her ribs. She, with her eyes starting out of her head, fled in terror to the Bay of Manao (มะนาว), and died at Bang Ta-phan (บางตะพาน). The Yaksas became so frightened that they fled, taking their gold with them. Mawng Lai lost his senses, and in a fit of madness threw the gold which formed the betrothal gift, to Pa Ron (ปาร้อน), which is near Bang Ta-phan and famous for the purity of its gold. He threw the staircase of his house away, and it became the present Kao Kan Bandai (เขาคันบันได), north of Kao Mawng Lai. He throw away the mirror, which became the present day Kao Chong Krachok (เขาช่องกระจก), west of Kao Mawng Lai. He threw away his umbrella, which became the present Koh Rom (เกาะโรม). He cast the betel nuts and leaves, Chinese cakes, little pots holding wax, tobacco, chunam used with betel nuts, and many other things, into the sea, where they became sea-weed, shells, pebbles and so forth. Bejr attempted to calm Mawng Lai, who, becoming increasingly mad, threw the pestle away, which pierced the rock now known as Koh Talu (เกาะทะลุ). Mawng Lai, having set fire to his house, made up, his mind to die, and death came to him on the top of Kao Mawng Lai lying to the north-east of the Bay of Koh Lak. His petrified body may be seen there to this day, lying face downwards looking out to sea.

Bejr fled, taking his family with him. He desired to go towards the East, but the sea barred his way and he fled towards the

north. His dogs, not understanding the change in the plan, lost their way, went towards the south and slept at Pratiu (ปะเทิว). Some people say the place was Sunak Hon (สุนักฮอน). Bejr went to a hill known as the Cock-fighting Hill (เขานก¹), in the Province of Kanchanaburi (กาญจนบุรี), where he trapped wild fowl. He lived on the islands called Pig and Tiger Islands, breeding pigs and catching tigers. His wife, Dame Ai, went to a place to make Kapi (กะปิ), and the place is now known as Kapi Island. Bejr then engaged in catching elephants at a place which is now known as Koh Chang (เกาะช้าง), the Elephant Island, situated on the eastern side of the Gulf of Siam, off the coast of Krat. Bejr related to two men the terrible happenings at Koh Lak, and his own adventures. This story so impressed them with the impermanence of worldly things that they decided to give up all worldly pleasures and pursuits and become hermits. They fixed their hermitage on an island now known as Si Chang (สี่ช้าง), the World-hating Hermit Island, situated west of Siracha. The tradition now brings us back to the two princes, Muak and Laya. The Prince Laya experienced such grief and sorrow on hearing of the death of Yom Doey that his spirit left him, and he died at a place known as Prince Laya Hill (เขาเจ้าลาย). The bowl containing the betel nuts and leaves, the symbols of betrothal, became transformed into the rocks of the Three-hundred Peak Hills (เขาสาร้อยยอด). The hares' pen was transformed into the Harepen Hill (เขากระต่ายขัง). The hares escaped from their pen, running away in all directions, and since that time, hares have been numerous in the district of Koh Lak. The turtles which were kept for preparing the dishes for the marriage feast, were transformed into the Turtle Hill (เขาเต่า), near Hua Hin. Prince Muak, who was enjoying some boiled rice, eating the same with chopsticks from an earthenware dish, was so upset on hearing from a servant of the death of Yom Doey that the chopsticks and dish dropped from his hands, and became the Chopsticks Hill (เขาตะเกียบ), near Hua Hin, and the Dish Island (เกาะจาน), which lies East of Koh Lak. The whale, which was to be cooked in the Chinese fashion as Pe Sa (เป๋สะ), became transformed into the Whale Creek Hill (เขาคลอมพ), adjacent to Koh Lak. The swifts which were to be roasted for the feast,

became the Swift Island (เกาะอี๋ม่อน). The rhinoceros which was to be made into curry, both spiced and unspiced, became the Rhinoceros Island (เกาะมรด). Prince Muak, purifying his mind, gave up all worldly infatuations and attachments, decided to return to the heaven of his ancestors, and died at a spot now known as Muak-enclosing Hill (เขาอี๋มหมวก). The Emperor of China gave orders for his fleet to leave the harbour, but his men forgot to pull up one of the mooring posts and this now remains as Pillar Island—Koh Lak (เกาะหลัก). One of the crew, who jumped overboard to recover the mooring post, was drowned, and at this spot now stands Hailam Island (เกาะไหหลำ). The Emperor with his retinue and fleet returned to China.

Mawng Lai has become deified, and is now a great Spirit (เจ้าพ่อมั่งงาย), in the realm of the gods. Sailors in danger from storms, and those stricken with disease make offerings composed of boiled glutinous rice and sugar to him, in the firm conviction that he will help them in their troubles, and that they will come safely to shore and recover from their sickness.

The following is the tradition in Siamese language, which I have recorded in the language of the people who gave it to me. This language may not be cultured Siamese, but it is written down in the actual words.

ประวัติเขาตาม่องด่าย

ตาม่องด่าย ภริยาชื้อรำพึง มีบุตรชื่อนางยมโดย รูปร่างงดงาม เป็นที่ตองตาใครเห็นเป็นหลงรัก ตั้งเคหะสถานอยู่ที่อำเภอยะ จังหวัด ประจวบคีรีขันธ์ ตาม่องด่ายร่างกายกำยำดำดั้นใหญ่โต มีกระบองเป็น อาวุธ โต ๑๕ ก้าว ยาว ๘ วา คืบวันหนึ่งตาม่องด่ายฝันว่าฟ้าผ่า เต่า ให้ตาเพชร ดำน้ำงายไฉน เป็นเพื่อนพ้อง ตาเพชรทำนายว่า จะมีตาตาม่องด่ายคิดจะไปหาเพชรนิลจินดา ตั้งภริยาและบุตรแล้ว คว่าได้ไม่ กระบองคู่มือพร้อมด้วยยามตะวับรรจุอาหาร ลงเรือนไป.

บัดนี้จะกล่าวถึงเจ้าหมวก บุตรเจ้าเมืองจีน ได้ทราบข่าวเล่าถึง ถึงรูปโฉมโฉมพรรณนางสาวยมโดย ให้มีจิตต์กำหนดรักใคร่อยากได้

ไว้เป็นภรรยา จึงตามิขายกตำเภามา ๓๐๐ ตำ เพื่อจะพูดจาบาทตามด้ขอ
นางยมโดย ๆ ไม่รับรัก เจ้าหมวกเข้าทรงเทว^๒ ๆ เสกสิ่ง^๓ ผึง, แบ่ง, นำน^๔
มันให้ เจ้าหมวกพยายามสั่งของให้แม้ว่าผึงใช้สิ่ง^๕ ผึง, แบ่ง, นำน^๖ ประ
พรมสิ่งของนั้น ๆ แม้ว่าจะผึงมีความสั่งตำให้โอกาสพบกับนางยมโดย ๆ เกิด
ความรักใคร่ได้เสียกันทางลับ จึงพูดจาด้ขอตกลงนัดแต่งงานกันในวัน
อังคารเดือน ๑๒ ขึ้น ๙ ค่ำ อันเป็นวันอำมหิโชค (แต่บนวันอังคารเป็นวัน
อุบาทว์ หมอตรวจดูไม่ทั่วถึง) เจ้าหมวกมีหนังสือบอกบิดา ๆ ก็ยก
ตำเภามาอีก ๕๐๐ ตำ เพื่อจะทำการวิวิห^๗.

ฝ่ายตาม่องด้าย ไปทางทิศตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือถึงเมืองพระเจ้าอุบล
ตบอง เมืองพิชชา ๆ มีบุตรชื่อเจ้าตาย ๆ ทราบข่าวความสวดยงามนางยม
โดย มีความอยากได้เป็นภรรยาให้บิดาพูดจาด้ขอต่อตาม่องด้าย ๆ ตกลง
ยกให้ นัดแต่งงานกันในวันอังคารเดือน ๑๒ ขึ้น ๙ ค่ำ พ้องกันกับวันที่นาง
รำพึงนัดไว้กับเจ้าหมวก เจ้าตายยกพดมาพร้อมกับตาม่องด้าย มากดาง
ทางพบยัก^๘ เกิดรบกัน ยัก^๙ แพ้ยอมเป็นข้า แล้วเดินทางมาพบบั้ง
ใหญ่ ตาม่องด้ายเกณฑ์ยัก^{๑๐} ให้ชนทองคำมาทำสะพานแล้วเดินเหยียบเข้า
เขตแดน ไปพักพลอยู่ที่บ้านเขาแดง จัดขันหมากท่นันและชังกระต่ายไว้
ที่เขาหนึ่ง.

ฝ่ายตาม่องด้ายเมื่อมาถึงบ้าน ทราบว่าบุตรมีคู่รัก และภริยาตกลง
นัดแต่งงานก็โกรธมาก เจ้าตายกับเจ้าหมวกทราบเรื่องคิดจะทำสงคราม
ชิงนาง ตาม่องด้ายคิดตัดศึก ทั้งมีความโกรธอยู่แล้ว จึงฆ่านางยมโดย
และนางส่งคนใช้ ขว้างนมช้างหนึ่งย่านญวนนอก อีกนมหนึ่งขว้างไป
จันทบุรี (ญวนใน) อีกนมหนึ่งขว้างไปสงขลา อีกนมหนึ่งตกเกาะไหหลำ
ส่วนตัวนางยมโดยขว้างไปตกอ่าวปากพนัง จังหวัดนครศรีธรรมราช ส่วน
ตัวนางส่งขว้างไปตกเกาะดังกานำมาถึงหว เตะแม้ว่าผึงใครงหักงั้นไป

ถึงอำมระนาวดาเหลือก ไปนอนตายบางตะพาน ฝ่ายพวกยักษ์พากันหนี
ชนทองกลับไปด้วย ตามองด้ายเสียใจและคิดถึงมากขว้างทองหมั้นไปบ่า
ว่อน ขว้างบันไดไปเป็นเขาคันบันได ขว้างกระຈักไปคึดช่องเขากะຈัก
ขว้างร่วมไปเป็นเกาะร่วม หมากรพญชมนจีนและคึดกับของต่าง ๆ ขว้างลง
ทะเลเดยงกลายเป็นดำห่วย, หอยและก้อนกรวดและอื่น ๆ.

ตาเพชรมาห้ามเลยเกิดวิวาทกัน ตามองด้ายเอาด้ายขว้างไปถึกเขา
ทะเล ตาเพชรพาครอบครัวหนี ตมองด้ายเอาเพลิงเผาบ้านแล้วถึกจนใจตาย
อยู่ที่เขาเรียกว่า เขามองด้าย.

ฝ่ายตาเพชรพาครอบครัวหนีคิดจะไปอยู่ที่คัถวันออกตงหน้าดินทางชน
ไปทิศเหนือ แต่สุนัขตาเพชรหลงทางไปทิศใต้ ไปนอนอยู่ที่หน้าอำเภอ
ประทิว ตาเพชร ไปแะค่อโก้ที่เรียกว่าเขาชนไก่ จึงหวัดกาญจนบุรี
และได้ไปพักเตียงสักรแล้วไปจับเสือได้ที่เรียกว่าเกาะหมูเกาะเสือ และยาย
โง่ไปพักทำกระบี่ในที่ ๆ เรียกว่าเกาะกระบี่ แล้วตาเพชร ไปจับช้างเผือกได้ที่
เรียกว่าเกาะช้าง แล้วม้ายต้องคนใดฟังเรื่องจากตาเพชร รู้จักโลกอนิจจัง
ให้มีความเกลียดชังทางฆราวาส จึงชวนกันบวชฤษั ไปจำศีลภาวนา
เดยดับชนชตแห่งหนึ่งเรียกว่าเกาะดีชง.

คราวนี้จะกล่าวถึงเจ้าหมวกและเจ้าดาบ เจ้าดาบเมื่อทราบข่าวว่า
นางยมโดยตายก็เสียใจ ขาดใจตายเป็นเจ้าดาบ ชนหมากก็กลายเป็น
คิตา moo ยอด ที่ซึ่งกระต่ายก็เลยเป็นเขากะต่ายชง กระต่ายก็ออก
จากที่ซึ่ง เพื่อนผ่านไป จึงมีกระต่ายชุมมากในเขตต์ประจวบคิรชนช
แต่ที่ซึ่งใจจะแกงก็กลายเป็นเขาเต่า.

ฝ่ายเจ้าหมวกกำลังนั่งรบนประทานข่าวด้วยตะเกียบ และ จานดินดิบ
พอมียาบอกว่านางยมโดยตายเจ้าหมวกร้องอ้ายยา จานกระเด็นไปตง
เป็นเกาะจาน ตะเกียบกระเด็นไปตงเป็นเขาตะเกียบ ส่วนปลาดาวพทจะ

๔๕
 แะชะเตียงกนกกลายเป็นคดองวาว นกแอ่นที่เตรียมไว้จะทอดกักตาย
 เป็นเกาะอ้อแอ้น แะแรดที่กระแงเผ็ดแะชะอ้อกกลายเป็นเกาะแรด เจ้า
 หมวกกตัญญูตายเป็นเซาต่อมหมาก ฝ่ายเจ้าเมืองจันดิงให้ออกเรือ
 ดำเภา ครันออกเรือดั้นหลัก เหยกกลายเป็นเกาะหลัก จันไหหลำโตหนา
 จะไปเอาหลัก เหยกจมน้ำตาย เรียกว่าเกาะไหหลำ บิดาเจ้าหมวกและ
 บ่าวไพร่พร้อมด้วยดำเภา ๒๐๐ ลำกักดับไปเมืองจัน.

ตามองด้านหน้าบางคนเรียกว่า เจาพ้อมองด้าน เมื่อออกกฎหมายใน
ทะเลหรือมีการเจ็บไข้กับเราเห็นขมขื่นยากหาตลาดทรายแดง กล่าวกันว่า
บางครั้งช่วยของกันภัยบ้างเพื่อความสบายใจได้.

PART TWO.

*The Dramatised Version of the Koh Lak tradition of
H. M. King Rama VI.*

His Majesty King Rama VI. dramatised the tradition. The royal playwright, however, changed the story to meet the requirements of his play. This dramatised version has been printed in a work called "The Book of Rajburi" (สมุดราชบุรี), published in B. E. 2468, A. D. 1925. This book was compiled in connection with the National Exhibition which it was intended to hold in that year, in commemoration of the fifteenth year of the reign of that king. As this story has received official sanction by being published in the work referred to, and as the play was actually staged and acted before the public in Koh Lak, it is possible that this story may be accepted by the people as the true one, and the real tradition gradually fade from their memory. It is for this reason that I place the tradition on record. The theme of the King's play is as follows:—

In ancient days there were three lords of the sea, each one having his residence on a hill adjacent to the sea. These three princes were, Chao Laya, whose hill was to the north, Thao Mawng Lai in the centre, and Chao Krung Cheen to the south. Prince Laya, having heard of the beauty of the daughter of Thao Mawng Lai, disguised himself as a fisherman and came by boat to the landing of the palace of Thao Mawng Lai at Koh Lak. The maids of the princess were buying fish at the landing, and, seeing Chao Laya, went home and told her that a handsome youth had brought fish to the landing for sale. The young princess commanded that he should bring his fish to the palace. The young man came into the presence of the girl. When they saw each other their hearts were pierced by the arrows of love, and from that day the young man found opportunities of coming to the palace frequently and one day their love was consummated. This was known to the mother of the princess, and a day was fixed for the marriage. The sea lord of China on the Krung Cheen Hill also heard of the beauty of the young princess, daughter of Thao Mawng Lai. He gathered together presents of beautiful silks and other articles and, disguising himself as a trader, came to the palace, where he was received by Thao Mawng Lai. Thao Mawng Lai was delighted with the beautiful silks and sent for his wife and daughter to come and look at them. The young Prince

of China then asked Thao Mawng Lai for the hand of his daughter. To this assent was given, and a date was fixed for the marriage. The date so fixed by Mawng Lai was the same date as that already arranged for the marriage of the princess to Chao Laya, the parents having forgotten their promise to Chao Laya. On the appointed day both Prince Laya and the Prince of China came in their ships, with their betrothal gifts, to the royal landing. Thao Mawng Lai realised that he was in a most embarrassing position, and, seeing that a fight between the two princes was inevitable, requested them to withdraw their ships from the landing to the open sea, in order that he might prepare a grand fleet of ships to receive the gifts. The two young men obeyed the request of the older prince, who immediately collected a fleet of armed vessels which were moored round his island city. Having gathered together his fleet under the pretext that the ships were to form a procession to receive the betrothal gifts, Thao Mawng Lai told the ambassadors of the two young princes of the mistake he had made, and suggested that the difficulty might be overcome by each of the princes taking half the girl. The two young princes objected, and sent their ambassadors back to tell Thao Mawng Lai that there was no justice in his solution of the difficulty. Prince Laya withdrew his fleet with the betrothal gifts to a harbour where the gifts were landed, and from this place set out with his fleet to attack Thao Mawng Lai. The young Prince of China, being overcome with rage, acted with greater decision and rapidity. He brought his fleet to the place where Mawng Lai's ships were lying. A battle ensued in which the Prince of China was defeated and his fleet dispersed. The slaughter was great, many prisoners were taken, and the prince is supposed to have fallen into the sea, for he was heard of no more. The betrothal gifts of the Prince of China were transformed into shells, fishes, etc. The princess, the cause of all this trouble, fearing that the young Prince of China might overcome her father, and she be taken by the victor, decided to flee by boat at night from the royal palace, for she loved Prince Laya. She carried her determination into effect and, while searching for her lover, a storm arose. Her boat was sunk, but she saved her life by swimming to land near a hill, which has since been known as the Maiden's Breast Hill (ເໝາະສົມ). Prince Laya, on arrival at the city of Mawng Lai, not finding the fleet of this prince or his men there, ransacked the palace in search of the young princess, but did

not find her. The girl's mother told Laya that the princess had fled by boat and gone in search of him. With these happy tidings in his heart he set forth with his fleet in search of the maiden. He found her near the Maiden's Breast Hill and took her away with him. Thao Mawng Lai, collecting the remnants of the Chinese fleet and gathering together much booty and many prisoners, returned to his city to find that his daughter was not there. Thao Mawng Lai questioned his wife and was told that their daughter had fled before the arrival of Prince Laya with his fleet. Mawng Lai became so enraged that he picked his wife up and threw her into the sea. She swam and landed at a place known today as Ramphung Hill. Thao Mawng Lai, with all his fleet, set forth in search of his daughter. He came up with the fleet of Prince Laya and the latter seeing that the forces of Mawng Lai were numerous, effected a landing of his men and entrenched himself on the top of a hill. Mawng Lai surrounded the hill, and Prince Laya being unable to obtain supplies was becoming short of food. There only remained to him a little fish condiment and a few rice crumpets, hence this hill is known as Savey Kapi Hill (เขาผวยกะปิ). The shortage of food became so great that the princess told Prince Laya to go down to her father and beg pardon for his offence. The two young people went to the old prince. He forgave them and, returning to his own city, performed the marriage ceremony with great pomp and splendour, and sent the newly married couple to the city of Chao Laya.

The king, in his version, mentions certain acts as the cause of giving names to certain things and places, which need not be mentioned here, as they are already recorded in the real tradition.

PART THREE.

*A Dissertation on the Koh Lak Tradition with a Suggestion
of its Significance.*

Is the Koh Lak tradition, which I have recorded in Part One, an invention or not? I think the answer must be that this story is based on some happenings, which occurred in this locality in ancient times, and that this story has been handed down from father to son. This tradition is known throughout the Peninsula as far south as Chaiya. The population of this district is now composed of people from Bejraburi and from across the Burmah border, for in that area the population is largely Thai, descendants of the Thai who settled during the Siamese occupation. [*Vide* Dr. A. F. G. Kerr's Note on a Trip from Prachuab (Koh Lak) to Mergui, published in the Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2]. The ancestors of many of those living here and in the adjoining regions must have taken part in the Thai penetration towards the south, either as soldiers, traders or agriculturists. They took part in the wars which ended with the establishment of the supremacy of the Thai authority in this region. I think the tradition refers to one of these struggles and probably the first of them, that is, the southern movement in which the king of Sukhothai (Ram Kamheng) added this region and that south of it, including Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj, to his dominions probably about A.D. 1268 or a few years earlier.

My interpretation of this Koh Lak tradition, therefore, is that it refers to that period in Siamese history when the Thai people, under their King in Sukhothai, were extending their influence and pushing south and west, which they did by two methods:—(1) By a military movement down the Nakorn Chaisri and Mae Klong rivers, till they occupied the whole peninsula to the south of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj. This movement must have occupied many years to complete. As it seems that the Thai suzerainty was established over Sri Dhammaraj and a portion of the Malay Peninsula lying to the south about A. D. 1268, then the military movement must have commenced before that year. This military movement was made possible by the defeat of Prince Sam Chun of Muang Chod (ฉอด), by Prince Ramaratha a year or so after his father Phya Sri Indra Bodindradya became king. Muang Chod is situated in Tambala

Mae Tiin (แม่ตีน) of the sub-Amphur Mae Ramat (แม่ระมาด) of Amphur Mae Sod in the province of Tak. This event must have taken place about A. D. 1238. In the battle the father was worsted, but the son Ramaratha came to his father's assistance and defeated Prince Sam Chun. This battle was fought at old Tak, which lies on the right bank of the Ping River a few miles south of where the Wang River joins the Ping. King Sri Indra Bodindradithya conferred on his son Ramaratha the title of Ram Kanheng as a reward for his bravery. Now that Prince Sam Chun had been disposed of, the road to the south was open. The Thai took advantage of this and the military movement south commenced. All the Thai communities living in this southern region were gradually brought within the dominion of Sukhothai. That there were Thai settlements already established in the valleys of the Chao Phya, Subpan, and Mae Klong rivers from about the 5th century of the Christian era cannot be doubted. I deal with this question in a separate work.

(2) By political and commercial penetration through Mae Sod into the Môn Kingdom of Mawtama (Martaban), which was reborn in A. D. 1281, and which eventually embraced the ancient city of Pegu and its territories known as Hongsawadi.

It was in the year A. D. 1284 that Magato, who had established himself in Mawtama in the year A. D. 1281, found himself a ruler without a title or the five regalia of royalty. Magato had eloped about the year A. D. 1275 with Princess Debasuda, a daughter of the king of Sukhothai, who had showered many favours on him. Magato bethought himself of his Royal master and benefactor in Sukhothai. He sent an embassy to the king of Sukhothai begging pardon for the offence he had committed in running away with the king's daughter during the king's absence on a military expedition against Java-Malay rebels in the peninsula south of Sri Dhammaraj. He then informed the king that he had made himself ruler over Mawtama and the Môn people in that territory and craved the king to confer on him a royal title and the five regalia of royalty. The King forgave Magato and conferred on him the title of King Fa Roa, which, patent of royalty, was inscribed on a tablet of gold. This patent of royalty together with a white umbrella, a crown, a sword, a fan and a pair of golden shoes, which constituted the five emblems of royalty, were conveyed by an ambassador from Sukhothai and presented to King Fa Roa in Mawtama in A. D. 1284.

That trade was carried on between the territory of Sukhothai and Mawtama, and that Mawtama was the port of export is proved by the fact that Magato headed a trading party to Sukhothai about A. D. 1268 during the Burmese régime. This trade probably received a great stimulus after Magato had established himself. The trade was extensive, and included large consignments of the famous Savankaloke pottery, which found markets in Africa, Arabia, Persia and India, as well as in Sumatra, Java, Cambodia, the Philippines and China. The political ascendancy of Sukhothai continued in this territory certainly till A. D. 1329, for two of the successors of King Fa Roa also received titles at the hands of the King of Sukhothai and were confirmed as Kings of Mawtama by him. The commerce of Sukhothai probably continued to use Mawtama as the port of export for a long period after A. D. 1329. It is significant that the King of Sukhothai sent an embassy to the court of the Mongolian Emperor of China in Peking in the year A. D. 1298-99, and King Fa Roa also sent an embassy to China in the same year. This would seem to prove that Mawtama was to some extent dependent politically on Sukhothai. The Sukhothai embassy was sent to beg the Emperor to confer on the king the same gifts of honour as the Emperor of China had given to the preceding monarch. These gifts were a white horse, a saddle, a whip and a coat of gold embroidery. The Emperor refused to comply with this petition and only sent the gold garment. Such an embassy conveying such a request could only have been sent to inform the Emperor of the death of the reigning King, and to ask for his Imperial recognition of his successor. The king who had died must have been Ram Khamheng, and his death must have taken place about the year A. D. 1297 or 1298. An embassy had been sent to Peking from Sukhothai in A. D. 1295 when no such request was made. This fact supports my theory that Ram Khamheng died about the time mentioned. If we examine the Paw Khun Ram Khamheng inscription, it will be found that the last of his acts recorded thereon took place about A. D. 1294. This is a further proof that he died shortly after A. D. 1294. If he reigned till A. D. 1317, as many Siamese scholars believe, then some of the events which took place between A. D. 1294 and 1317, a period of twenty-three years, would certainly have been recorded.

The Koh Lak story leads one to believe that the Thai, in their southward movement, had just occupied the city of Padja, modern

Bejraburi, and that the ruling prince was one called Ubalabongs (อุบลพงศ์). This word means "The lineage of the Lotus". It is a curious fact that the King of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj, Chandrabhanu, described himself in the year A. D. 1230 as belonging to the lineage of the lotus (ปทุมวงศ์). Can there be any connection? South of Padja Mawng Lai, probably a prince of the house of Chaia, still retained power in Koh Lak.

He, seeing that it would be difficult to resist the southward march of the Thai, deemed it politic to enter into friendly relations with the prince of Padja. He headed the mission himself. An agreement was entered into between Prince Mawng Lai and Prince Ubalabongs, which was to be ratified by Prince Mawng Lai giving his daughter Yom Doey to Prince Laya, the son of the Prince of Padja. Everything was proceeding favourably to cement this alliance by Prince Laya accompanying Mawng Lai to Koh Lak. Prince Laya and his bodyguard came to the frontier between Padja and Koh Lak, where he camped. On his way he was met by a hostile force and a battle ensued in which the Koh Lak forces were driven back. Prince Mawng Lai was much aggrieved by this action of his people and tried to make amends to Prince Laya by facilitating his march by building bridges over the swampy grounds. The sea at that time extended much further west than today, and it is probable that the Prince's march was through marshy ground. Prince Mawng Lai placated Prince Laya, and then proceeded to his own capital to arrange for the marriage of his daughter. The tradition tells us what happened. It is probable that with the death of Mawng Lai, the advance of the Thai southwards was rendered much easier and that they pushed forward with great vigour, partly to avenge the death of their young Prince Laya. When the military movement south commenced, all the Thai communities living in this southern region were gradually brought within the dominion of Sukhothai. That there were Thai settlements already established in the valleys of the Chao Phya, Subpan, and Mae Klong rivers from about the 5th century of the Christian era cannot be doubted. I deal with this question in a separate work.

That portion of the tradition which refers to the giving of Thai names to many places and objects, etc., would seem to be evidence that the Thai displaced another people, and that this forward move-

ment went as far south as Pak Panang. Now this place is only a few miles distant from Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj, where Chandrabhanu was in authority. This King reigned in Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj certainly from A. D. 1230-1272, which period synchronises with the establishment of Thai power in Sukhothai and its expansion. It was probably at this time that King Chandrabhanu came under the protection of Sukhothai. Evidence to show who Chandrabhanu was will be found in the Wat Hua Vieng inscription, which tells us that Chandrabhanu ruled in Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj in the 2332nd year of the Kaliyuga, which synchronises with the year A. D. 1230. This establishes the fact that King Chandrabhanu, of the lineage of the Lotus, reigned here from A. D. 1230.

The Maha Vamsa, or Great Chronicle of Ceylon, gives us further evidence about this King. It relates that a King named Chandrabhanu led a Malay army by sea to attack Ceylon and waged war on that country twice during his reign. The dates for these two expeditions are not given, but they took place during the reign of Parakkama Bahu II. That King had re-established the Sinhalese power in Langka by driving out the foreign usurpers. The Kingdom of Langka was attacked by King Chandrabhanu with a great army of Malays, equipped with weapons and engines of war. This attack took place in the eleventh year of the reign of Parakkama Bahu II., which would be A. D. 1251. Chandrabhanu was defeated with the greatest difficulty after many fierce battles had been fought, for it would seem that the Malay army had entered Langka at many ports and held most of the strategic positions.

Chandrabhanu, some years later, led another army of Malays over the seas, and again attacked Langka during this same reign. This time he was supported by forces from the Pandu and Chola countries. These Tamils were actuated by the desire for revenge and to regain what they had lost when Parakkama Bahu II. had driven them out of Langka. King Chandrabhanu and his allies were again defeated, and driven out of the island. The ambition which actuated King Chandrabhanu to wage these two wars was his desire to obtain the Holy Tooth Relic. He failed. There is no reference in the Maha Vamsa to the Sihingka Buddha. King Parakkama Bahu II. reigned from A. D. 1240 to 1275. Some authorities put this reign forward by a few years.

The Maha Vamsa places on record that the first war was waged during the eleventh year of the reign of this monarch, A. D. 1251, and that the second war was waged in the last years of the reign. As the story of the last war is related just before the death of this King, I would suggest A. D. 1271. Dr. Sir R. O. Winstedt states in his work "The History of Malaya", page 29, that "Chandrabhanu attacked Ceylon first in A. D. 1236 and finally with the King of Hinayana Sukhodaya probably threw off the yoke of Mahyama Jambi and allied with the kings of Pandya certainly failed in the second attack on Ceylon, in A. D. 1256. Pandya inscriptions indicate that Chandrabhanu ruled Kadaram, that is Kedah, without which he would have lacked a port on the Bay of Bengal for his attempt to wrest Buddha's Tooth from Ceylon." Dr. Winstedt also states that not only did Jambi or the Malayu country lose Ligor (Sri Dhammaraj) but also other territories. This statement is most important as it shows by what means and about what time the Thai of Sukhothai established themselves in Sri Dhammaraj and even further south. It is to be regretted, however, that Dr. Winstedt does not give us any authority for his dates or for the friendly relations existing between Sukhothai and Sri Dhammaraj. It further appears that in A. D. 1275 Kartanagara, ruler of East Java, from Singhasari made an attempt and to some extent succeeded in establishing his rule over the Malayan country, for it would seem that he added Pahang to his State about A. D. 1286. The fighting which took place between 1275 and 1286 affected the authority of Sukhothai in this region, and it is probable that the expedition against the Java Malay rebels headed by King Ram Kamheng, referred to in the Rajadhiraj (a Môn History), was carried out at this time. It was about A. D. 1275 that Magato eloped with the King's daughter during the King's absence suppressing a rebellion of Java Malays. This Magato destroyed the Burmese power in Mawtama, and established himself as King over the Môn, A. D. 1281.

The Chronicle of the Sihingka Buddha throws some light on the relations between a King of Sukhothai and a King of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj. The King of Sukhothai was probably Ram Kamheng; and the King of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj was probably Chandrabhanu. This Chronicle tells us that the King of Sukhothai—and apparently this King was known under several names and the inference gained from these names goes to show that he was Ram Kamheng—

was overcome by a desire to possess the Sihingka Buddha. He went to Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj in person, and explained his desire to the King of that territory. He even commanded that King to obtain possession of the Buddha then in Ceylon. The wording of the Chronicle is precise. It states that the King of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj was commanded to obtain the statue by using all means at his disposal. The translation of the passage referring to the command of the king of Sukhothai is: "By stratagem even going so far as to use the name, prestige and power of the King of Sukhothai to force the King of Langka and the people of the city from their arrogance into acquiescing in obtaining the Sihingka statue unto him (the King of Sukhothai) to worship." The King of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj sent an embassy to Ceylon. The King of Ceylon gladly gave this image of the Buddha to the ambassadors and thus the Sihingka Buddha arrived in Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj after many vicissitudes and adventures on the sea. The Sihingka Chronicle tells us something of importance, namely, that when this image of the Buddha arrived at Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj some of the Sukhothai soldiers garrisoned in Sri Dhammaraj were sent to Sukhothai to inform King Suraraj. The word Suraraj means the brave king, and the word Ram Kamheng means Rama the Brave. There can be no doubt that these two names refer to one and the same monarch. This Monarch went in person to Sri Dhammaraj to take over the image, which was carried with great ceremony and pomp to Sukhothai. This statement, if true, certainly proves that the King of Sukhothai was the suzerain power. As Chandrabhanu probably died about A. D. 1272 after his return from waging his second war on Ceylon, the power of Sukhothai must have extended to this territory many years earlier.

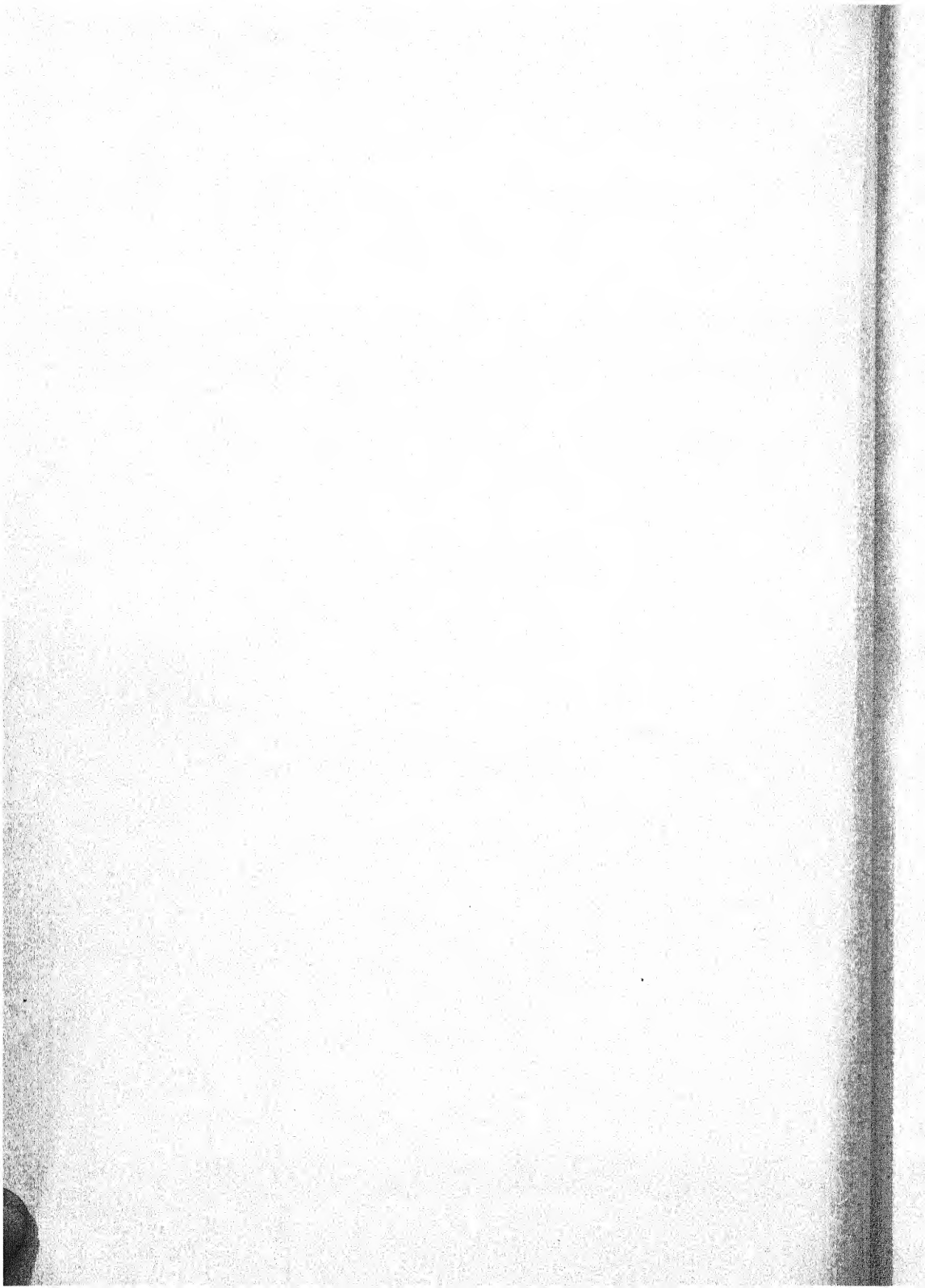
Some Siamese scholars believe that the Thai power was established in Sukhothai under Phya Sri Indra Bodindradhitya about the year A. D. 1256 or 1257. In my work dealing with the Kingdom of Sukhothai, which is in course of preparation, I advance the theory, which I support with certain evidence, that the Thai Kingdom of Sukhothai was established some twenty years earlier, that is about A. D. 1237. King Sri Indra Bodindradithya and his son Bala Muang are believed to have reigned for twenty years. If this belief is correct, the Prince Ram Kamheng ascended the Throne in A. D. 1257 and not A. D. 1277 as is thought by many Siamese scholars. It is generally held that King Ram Kamheng reigned for forty years.

There is evidence in the archives kept during the Mongol ascendancy in China to show that King Ram Khamheng died in A. D. 1297, or at the latest A. D. 1298, and not A. D. 1317. If I am correct, then, King Ram Khamheng was on the Throne during this period of the great expansion of Thai powers, and it was he who annexed Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj to the Thai dominions and even extended that power into the Malay country south of that place. The events recorded in the Mahavamsa and the Sihingka Chronicle all took place before A. D. 1277 the year, in which Siamese scholars believe that Prince Ram Khamheng ascended the throne. All evidence goes to prove that it was King Ram Khamheng who established Thai sovereignty over Sri Dhammaraj and portions of the Malay Peninsula. If my interpretation of the Koh Lak tradition is correct then the Thai people at the same time wrested the eastern coast including Chantabun from the Khmer, for Chantabun as well as many islands in the Gulf including Si-chang are mentioned in the tradition. Therefore this king must have been on the throne prior to A. D. 1277. The name of the island Si-chang has always been a matter of controversial argument. This tradition gives us a clue. This island Koh Si-chang (สิจ้าง) is the island of the World-hating Hermit, and not สิจ้าง.

The object of this paper is merely to place the Koh Lak Tradition on record and to make a few suggestions as to what happened to bring about the death of Prince Mawng Lai, and the probable date of these happenings. The paper may seem fragmentary and to lack a positive background. This cannot be avoided as the tradition itself gives us little help in clearing up an obscure historical event. The movement of the Thai south to Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj and into the Malayan peninsula is a matter of some historical importance, and forms a glorious page in the history of the Thai people. This episode is one of the most important events in the establishment of the Thai power in Sukhothai, and had far reaching results. This episode is being dealt with by me in a separate work. This work is advancing towards its completion and deals with the establishment of the Thai in the north in pre-Christian days, and their advance south to the Gulf of Siam when they drove the Khmer out of Lavaratha and established themselves in the valley of the Suphan River, centuries prior to the consolidation of their power in Sukhothai and Ayudhya. This work gives out many new theories supported by

evidence to show that the Thai people were in the delta of the Menam Suphan and Chao Phya about the fifth century of the Christian era.

As this paper is one dealing with a phase or period in history, it may seem out of place to talk about such trivial matters as Love philtres. But as it was due to the use of a love philtre that the death of Mawng Lai and many persons was brought about, and the Thai were thus enabled to push south, I feel that the Love philtre in this particular case is of some importance. Love philtres, their preparation and use are interesting, and as this Love philtre belongs to the type known as Nam Man Prai, I propose to give some information about it in a separate paper.



ABOUT A LOVE PHILTRE.

KNOWN TO THE SIAMESE AS NAM MAN PRAI—SPIRIT OIL.

By Francis H. Giles.

In the "Koh Lak Tradition", which I publish in this Journal, it is stated that a Chinese Prince was given by his grandfather, living in the realm of the gods, a potent love philtre composed of wax, powder, and sandalwood oil. There can be no question that this love philtre is the Nam Man Prai (น้ำมันพราย), spirit oil, known to the Siamese. The ingredients for making this love philtre were revealed to Prince Muak by the spirit of an ancestor, and the philtre was used by Prince Muak to gain the love of Yom Doey, the beautiful daughter of Prince Mawng Lai. The use of this love philtre led to happenings of great historical importance, which are recorded in my paper "The Koh Lak Tradition." Love is a mysterious influence which attacks the human race, and as love may be gained by the use of a love philtre, it may interest the readers of this Journal to learn how this love potion is made. The details are somewhat gruesome. One of the first essentials is to obtain a fresh corpse and, if the corpse is that of a woman who died while pregnant, the love philtre will be very powerful. Bodies of persons male or female, who have died an unnatural death, can also be used, but the potion is less efficacious. The doctor who intends to obtain the spirit oil proceeds to the cemetery late at night accompanied by two assistants. He takes with him a knife, a cane on which talismanic figures or letters have been inscribed, cotton thread which has been subjected to magic incantations, eight pieces of cloth on which talismanic figures have been written, having magical powers, to be placed at the eight cardinal points of the compass as a protective measure, a candle known as "the Candle of Victory" (เทียนชัย) with a wick made of

nine twisted threads of cotton, a piece of bees-wax of the weight of one baht, as well as some consecrated water and grains of rice which have been subjected to magical incantations. Implements for digging up the corpse are also taken.

Before commencing the work of exhuming the corpse, it is necessary to place the consecrated thread round the area of the grave, and the eight pieces of cloth inscribed with talismanic figures have to be placed one at each of the eight cardinal points of the compass. The doctor sits within this magic circle and, placing himself in a spiritual trance, invokes the spirit of the dead person to come forth. The spirit, on thus being conjured up, comes out of the grave, standing before the doctor, in many cases having the height of a palm tree. The doctor, uttering certain incantations, exorcises the spirit that it may become reduced in size by throwing charmed grains of rice at the apparition. The spirit gradually loses its great stature, shrinks, and eventually sits before the doctor with bowed head. The spirit being now of normal size raises its arms and embraces the doctor. While the spirit sits in this posture, embracing the doctor, the latter lights the Candle of Victory and applies it to the forehead of the corpse in order to obtain the humours of the brain. Should, however, a sufficient quantity be not obtained, then the doctor applies the candle to the chin until the vessel is filled.

Having obtained a sufficient quantity of the oil secretions of the dead body, the doctor applies the Candle of Victory to the elbows of the corpse, which gradually loosens, its hold and disappears of its own volition.

Another method adopted for obtaining the fluid matter from a corpse is as follows:— The earth of the grave covering the upper portion of the corpse is removed so as to be able to undo the funeral wrappings that the corpse may rise to a sitting posture. A post is driven into the earth, to which the corpse while in this position is tied. The doctor then proceeds to drain off the liquid from the forehead or chin by applying a lighted candle. Should the corpse have a wax mask on its face, this must be taken off. A wax mask is very generally placed on the face of a corpse. If the spirit is a very powerful one, it will attempt to prevent the doctor from finding the head of the corpse. Wherever the doctor may dig, he meets or finds the feet of the corpse. In such cases it is necessary to dig out the whole corpse, but even then the spirit will fight to prevent the doctor

obtaining his desire. It sometimes happens that, when the spirit resists and it is necessary to expose the whole corpse, the spirit will drag the grave digger into the grave and hold him by the head. When the spirit behaves in this manner, the doctor takes a cane and beats the corpse until the spirit releases its hold on the digger, and he is able to escape from the grave. Sometimes the spirit is so determined to prevent the doctor carrying out the operation, that when the grave is uncovered, no corpse is found. It has disappeared. The doctor has then to compel the spirit to return by using certain necromantic incantations, and at the same time to sprinkle the area marked off by the consecrated thread and talismans with holy water and charmed grains of rice.

It is not necessary to boil or do anything with the fluid matter obtained from a corpse. The vessel into which the fluid is drained is closed and sealed with a piece of cloth on which talismanic signs have been inscribed. This vessel is then placed in a new earthen pot which is again sealed in the same manner.

The pot holding the spirit oil is kept in the house placed on an altar high above the heads of those living in the house. Food, that is a little rice and fish or meat, must be presented to the spirit twice a day. Should the doctor neglect to make these offerings of food, then he is asking for trouble, for the spirit which has become hungry will enter the body of the doctor and begin to eat his entrails. The hunger of a spirit must be satisfied like that of a mortal. It is for this reason that the ancients say: "หมอผีตายเพราะผี, หมออยู่ตายเพราะงู", that is "The spirit doctor dies by the hand of a spirit, the snake charmer by the poison of a snake."

This spirit fluid is of great potency and can be used for many purposes, that is, to create a feeling of love in the heart of one who is touched therewith, or to cause pains in the stomach, headache, or any other ills. The fluid can be mixed with food or water, and taken by the person treated, or it can be rubbed on the body or flicked by the finger on to the body, whichever is the easier to do, according to the circumstances in each particular case. Whatever the purpose of the user of this potion may be, there is a specific incantation. Should the love of any woman be obtained by using this philtre, trouble always follows, for the woman becomes ill, her arms and legs are affected and before long she dies. Should this love philtre be taken from a male corpse and applied to any one to attain any object what-

soever, it is difficult to exorcise or cast out the spirit from the person within whom it has entered. The doctor who may so attempt to cast the spirit out, sometimes finds it to be so obstinate and obdurate that it refuses to leave its fleshly home. It is not an uncommon occurrence for a spirit doctor to have to flee for his life when he encounters a spirit of this nature.

There is still another method of producing this potion. It is to take the wax mask from the corpse of a person who has died an unnatural death and then to obtain three skulls of persons who have also died in this manner. The skulls are used as the tripods on which the pot is placed for boiling the ingredients. The ingredients are the wax, some oil mixed with medicine, the component parts of which have not been divulged. This concoction is placed in a pot which is put on the three skulls and boiled by using three different kinds of wood as fuel. The pieces of firewood have to be charmed by having talismanic signs written on each piece. The spot at which the boiling takes place should be at a point where three roads meet, and the actual boiling place must be marked off by consecrated thread and talismanic charms placed at the eight cardinal points of the compass, to prevent the ingress of any interfering spirit. The spirit doctor, sitting in a posture of meditation, holds the Candle of Victory in his hands, clears his mind of all earthly attachments and infatuations, so as to be in touch with the spirit world. He recites certain incantations before the boiling pot. Should the spirit doctor be well versed in magic or the occult sciences, spirit apparitions in various forms will hover about the three skulls. It is then known that this potion will be efficacious, but it is not so potent as the spirit fluid obtained in the manner described above. When the concoction has been sufficiently boiled, it is poured into a dish covered and sealed with cloth or metal on which talismanic signs have been inscribed. This potion must be kept in a place high up and the spirit fed every day. It is used in the same manner as the spirit oil or fluid.

AN ANCIENT CHINESE BLOOD TEST FOR PROVING PARENTAGE.

By Francis H. Giles.

The reign of the Emperor Jin-tchong, of the Sung dynasty, covered the period from A. D. 1023 to 1063, although it would seem that a lady in the palace, either the Emperor's mother or step-mother, wielded power for the first ten years of the reign. Imperial Commissioners were appointed and required to travel throughout the provinces for the purpose of hearing and redressing the grievances of the people. The work of these commissioners not only brought them in contact with people of all classes, but required a careful and just examination of the acts and doings of the provincial officials from the highest to the lowest. Members of the Imperial family were not exempt from the scrutiny of these commissioners. When these men were possessed by the high qualities of fearlessness, justice and probity, which actuated them in redressing wrongs, the results of their work were most beneficial, and helped largely to make the people revere and honour the Emperor. When any of these men lacked the qualities mentioned, and were moved by desire for gain or self-aggrandisement, then they failed in their office; the hardships of the people were enhanced, and the name of the Emperor became a byword throughout the land. In those provinces where the Governors and those in authority were good men, the people were happy. But many of these commissioners, and many of the provincial officials were men in whom self-interest came first. It would seem that many of the imperial commissioners did not carry out the work entrusted to them in accordance with the wishes of their Imperial master. There was one among them, however, possessed by a strong sense of duty, in fact so strong that he could not be moved from the path of justice. This man was Pao Leng Tu (包拯). He knew nought of

wrong; he was the embodiment of good. He possessed a sense of justice beyond the ordinary, and was also in a high degree psychic. Pao Leng Tu was a seer, and relied on his marvellous powers of intuition and insight to help him in unravelling the most intricate and obscure cases. The name Pao Leng Tu is revered to-day, some 900 years after his death, throughout the length and breadth of China.

The work of Pao Leng Tu was of such a high character that many of his more important decisions have been collected and published, by Chinese scholars. I happened, two months ago, to come across a collection of some of these decisions. I read them and became much interested, for they showed that Pao Leng Tu feared nought, and was prepared to sacrifice his life on his ideal of justice.

In Cases Nos. 53 and 62 reference is made to a Chinese blood test, for proving parentage. In fact, in Case No. 53, Pao Leng Tu ordered the exhumation of a corpse in order to apply the blood test, and prove a point of disputed parentage. I became much interested, the more so as I knew that Professor Landsteiner, of Vienna, had in 1901 proved that the blood of the human race is divided into four groups. By using the methods of Professor Landsteiner and other scientists who followed him, it was possible to prove, provided one knew the blood group of the mother and child, to which group the father belonged. Marriages between parents of the same blood group always produce children of that group, and marriages between parents belonging to different blood groups produce children belonging to either the father's or the mother's blood group. This grouping of the blood by Professor Landsteiner is of paramount importance in cases of blood transfusion, for it seems that in such cases the blood taken from one person and put into another must belong to the same group. These blood groups are intact and are not affected by race, colour, or climate. I have been told that the blood groups of the gorilla and chimpanzee are the same as in human beings. Now, let me get back to Pao Leng Tu. The facts recorded in Case No. 53 are as follows:—

In the city of Tang Kia there lived a man named Eng Kien possessed of great wealth. Eng Kien was a man of kindly nature. He was always helping others, and therefore the people had the greatest affection for him. He had one daughter, named Sui Nüing, but no son. The daughter was married to Ieng Kheng. When Eng

Kien was 78 years of age, his son-in-law became so convinced that he would succeed to the great wealth of his father-in-law, that when in his cups he would boast about it to his companions. This talk came to the ears of Eng Kien, when he was 80 years of age, and it so annoyed him that he decided to attempt to frustrate the ambitions of his son-in-law, by taking unto himself a new wife in order to obtain a son. The old man was successful. A son was given birth to in due course by the new wife. This son was given the name of Eng Leng Chong. When this son was born to Eng Kien, his son-in-law became much perturbed, and showed this in his manners to his father-in-law. The old man, in order to prevent trouble, told his son-in-law not to be upset, for he would enjoy the property on his death. When Eng Kien died, the son-in-law came into possession of the estate and administered it. When Eng Leng Chong arrived at the age of 20, he demanded the return of his father's estate from Ieng Kheng. The latter refused and a case was brought by Eng Leng Chong in the district Court claiming his father's property. Ieng Kheng contested the claim of Eng Leng Chong, stating that Eng Leng Chong was not the son of Eng Kien, and that Eng Kien had not made a will in his favour. The district Court accepted the evidence of Ieng Kheng as final, and dismissed the suit. Eng Leng Chong brought his case before Pao Leng Tu, who sent for Ieng Kheng. The latter having made a statement similar to that made before the district Court, Pao Leng Tu decided the case thus:

According to Chinese law the status of male and female children is different. If a girl is married into a new family, that is the family of her husband, it absorbs her and she can no longer serve her father and mother. In the case of a son, however, he lives with his father, serves his father and mother, and is thus entitled to the property of his father and mother. If a son who has received the estate of his father and mother, desires to give a portion to a sister, because they were born to the same parents, there could be no objection. Should a daughter, although married, continue to live with her parents who had no son, then such daughter would be entitled to the estate of her father and mother. Where there are several daughters but no son, the daughters who live with their parents and serve them, would be entitled to the estate. In a case where there are both sons and daughters, all living with their parents at the time of their parents' death, such children would be entitled to the estate in the

following shares. The sons would receive two-thirds; and the daughters one-third. When there are only a son and a daughter, and this son is a minor at the time of the death of the parent, the daughter shall administer the estate till the son attains his majority, when the estate must be handed over to him. As this provision applied to the property of Eng Kien, claimed by Ieng Kheng, Pao Leng Tu ordered Ieng Kheng to hand over the whole of the property to Eng Leng Chong. When Ieng Kheng heard this decision, he said that it was in accord with the law and justice, but he would raise another point to contest the claim. This point was that Eng Kien having reached the age of 80 when Eng Leng Chong was born, all people felt that this child could not be his son. Pao Leng Tu replied that the ancients held that a man of 80 years of age could have a child, for males were different in this matter from females. But, he added, if you still doubt whether Eng Leng Chong is a true son of Eng Kien, then I will order that the corpse of Eng Kien be exhumed and apply the blood test. Pao Leng Tu explained that the blood test would prove parentage, for if a reputed son cut his finger and allowed drops of blood to fall on the bones of a reputed father, and if the two were really father and son, then the blood which had fallen on the bone would soak into, and be absorbed by the bone; but if the two persons were not father and son, then the blood would run off the bone, leaving no trace.

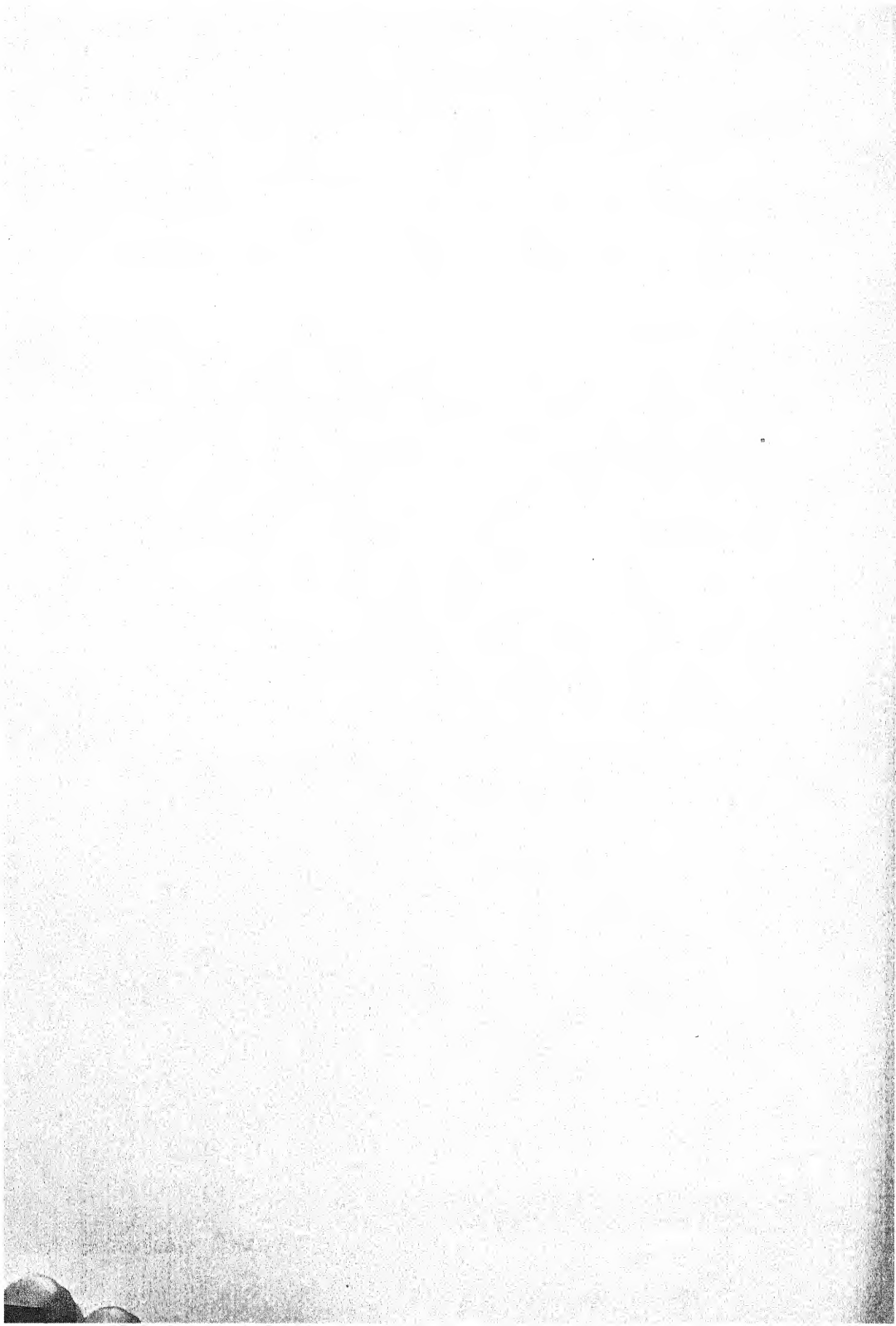
Thereupon Pao Leng Tu ordered that the body be exhumed. The blood test was applied, and it was thereby proved that Eng Leng Chong was a true son of Eng Kien. Ieng Kheng was ordered to hand the property over to Eng Leng Chong.

Case No. 62 is different in its subject matter from No. 53.

In Case No. 62 three Buddhist priests, who had established themselves near a pass over a mountain, murdered an official and his wife with their servants when travelling over this hill on transfer to a new district. The three priests seized the daughter named Simi and compelled her to pander to their lecherous desires. They forced the girl to shave her head and to dress in the garb of a Buddhist priest. As there was a shortage of food in the district, the party of four moved from place to place begging alms. After the girl had been in the company of these three rascals for six months, they came to the town where it so happened Pao Leng Tu was in residence. During the night Pao Leng Tu dreamt that he saw a melon plant

with four fruits. When he woke up he had occasion to go about his business, and on the way met three Buddhist priests begging alms. One of these men had a head shaped like a melon. This sight brought to memory the dream, and when Pao Leng Tu arrived at the place where he was staying, he sent some of his men to bring the three priests before him. When they appeared, Pao Leng Tu examined them, and they admitted that there was a fourth member of their party, who had remained at the inn. Pao Leng Tu sent for this fourth priest. On arrival Pao Leng Tu suspected that this person was a woman. When she sat down she began to cry and begged Pao Leng Tu to redress the wrongs which she had suffered at the hands of the three wretches masquerading as priests. Pao Leng Tu, having obtained confessions of their guilt from the men, ordered them to be beheaded. Simi was told to return to her relations. This she did, and in due course married a new husband, her former husband having been murdered at the same time as her parents by the three wretches who had seized and ill-treated her. Many years later when her son by the new marriage was travelling to take up an official position, he travelled with his mother by the same route as Simi's parents had travelled before. When Simi came to the mountain pass she recognized the place as being the spot where her parents had been murdered. She searched for their remains and found the bones of two persons. In order to ascertain whether the bones were those of her father and mother she used the blood test described in Case No. 53. The bones absorbed the blood of Simi and thereby parentage was proved.

As the Chinese hold that bone is a product of the blood, it would appear that the basic idea of the Chinese that parentage can be proved by blood-test is not so very different from the modern scientific theory in this matter. The Chinese feel that if the two persons to whom the blood-test is applied are of the same blood group, then their blood would unite. The contrary is the case when they belong to different groups; for we know that, in the transfusion of blood, the blood of the donor must be of the same group as that of the recipient, otherwise the blood of the two persons will not unite. Blood of a different group, if transfused, brings about ill effects, somewhat analogous to the Chinese idea that the bone will refuse to absorb such blood.



AN ACCOUNT OF A TRIP MADE TO ANGKOR WAT IN 1872.

By the Rev. S. G. McFarland, D. D.

FOREWORD.

Dr. George B. McFarland, a son of the Rev. S. G. McFarland, D. D., who visited Angkor Wat in 1872, suggested to me that members of the Siam Society might be interested in the description of that famous temple as it appeared sixty-five years ago. He gave me a reprint of the account written by his father. I found this record to be most interesting, and agreed with Dr. George B. McFarland that it should be published in the Journal of the Siam Society.

To merely publish the document without any commentary explaining the relationship between the donor and the author of the paper, and giving some details of the archaeological work carried out by the French authorities, would have been an easy matter; but I felt that readers of the Journal would be more interested if the account were elaborated and brought up-to-date. Having this object in view I approached Dr. George B. McFarland and asked him if he would write a note touching on the more intimate side of the subject, he being a son of the author and alive when the trip was undertaken. I also asked Major E. Seidenfaden, the Leader of the Archaeological Study Section of the Siam Society, to write a short treatise on the subject of Angkor Wat. Few men are more versed in this matter than Major Seidenfaden. The two gentlemen acquiesced in my request and have kindly prepared notes which I think are valuable, and will be appreciated by members of the Society.

28th June, 1937

PRESIDENT.

VISIT TO ANGKOR WAT IN 1872.

Herewith a reprint of the description of Angkor Wat by the Rev. S. G. McFarland, D. D., issued in 1873:—

The town of Siam-rap is on a small stream that falls into the head of Thalay Sap, or Great Lake of Cambodia. About six miles north of the town, and in the midst of a dense forest, are found the ruins of an ancient civilization, the counterpart of which is now nowhere to be found.

The ruins of a city, of which little else beside the walls and portals are now to be seen, and a temple, still in a good state of preservation, are the principal objects of interest. This temple, called by the Siamese Nakhor Watt, and by the Cambodians Angcor Watt is in $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north latitude, and about 104° longitude east from Greenwich.

These ruins were visited about ten years ago, by the late Henri Mouhot, a French naturalist and traveller, who, in speaking of them, says: "This temple is a rival for Solomon's; grander than anything left to us by Greece or Rome."

Neither history nor tradition can throw any light on the origin or age of these wonderful specimens of architecture. The present generation of Cambodians and Siamese are as ignorant on these questions as their antipodes, and if questioned as to the founders of this magnificent temple, they will say: "The giants built it"; "It made itself,"; and "If man built it, it must have been built by a race of more power and skill than any to be found now." The latter it is not difficult to credit!

The present condition of the country around these ruins is in wonderful contrast with the magnificence that here lies buried. The country, though rich, is uncultivated, being mostly covered with forests. The people are poor and very ignorant, having none of the arts that once flourished in this valley.

There are three or four things about this grand structure which give it a valid claim to be considered a wonder, viz: the vast proportions, the unique and symmetrical design, the exquisite skill displayed in the workmanship, and the fact that it is built entirely of stone.

The visitor is at once bewildered, as in a labyrinth of corridors and massive towers, and is only enabled, after patient study and observation, to see the beautiful symmetry of design in the structure.

The approach to the portals of the outer wall is over a causeway seven hundred and fifty feet long and thirty feet wide, paved with large slabs of stone neatly and closely fitted, and supported by walls of great thickness. As our elephants emerged from the thick forest of trees and came upon this paved way, at the entrance of which are two crouching lions, sculptured from a single block of stone, we obtained our first view of this magnificent temple.

This causeway, which leads to the gate, crosses a ditch seven hundred and fifteen feet wide, which surrounds the entire outer wall. After crossing this moat we come to the high gateway of the wall. Passing through this portal we come into the space included within this outer wall, which contains two hundred and eight acres. In the centre of this area is the temple. The buildings of the temple cover an area of nearly ten acres. The space between the wall and the temple buildings is now overgrown with thorns and bushes, and in some places large trees. This was doubtless once a beautiful lawn and garden.

Commencing from the building or portal, which forms the principal entrance, is a second causeway thirty feet wide and a thousand and ten feet long, paved with stones, and raised four feet from the level of the ground. On each side of this way is a balustrade, formed of long dressed stones; and on each side of this causeway, at intervals, are six platforms projecting, with several steps leading to the ground, and on the end of the balustrade at the end of the steps, are sculptured serpents with seven heads. This second causeway, or paved walk, leads to the main entrance of the temple.

The temple is composed of three distinct parts, or galleries; an outer, middle, and centre, raised in the form of terraces, one above another; the outer one being a rectangle five hundred and eighty-eight feet by seven hundred and fifteen feet; the centre one an exact square, measuring one hundred and seventy feet on each side. The building stands exactly with the points of the compass, the front facing the west.

On the west and east are five doors and staircases—three in the middle, and one at the ends of the galleries at each corner, and three doors on each of the remaining two sides. These doors have each a portico which projects a few feet from the front.

The first terrace is eight feet from the ground, and is ascended by a flight of stone steps in front of the middle door; the galleries are seen stretching away to the right and left, a distance on each side of two hundred and ninety-two feet. The roof covering these galleries or colonnades, is supported in front by a double row of columns, surmounted by capitals, formed in each case of a single block of stone. The first row of columns is ten, and the second is seven feet high. These columns are square, having the base and cornice beautifully carved, and formed in each case of a single block of stone. The inner support for the roof is a solid wall, covered its entire length, a space of six feet wide, with bas relief. At the four corners of these galleries are towers.

Passing from the front through the first gallery, we come into a square space where two galleries, each of two double rows of pillars, cross each other at right angles. This part is in the form of a cross. In the four squares formed by these galleries, crossing at right angles, are four depressions, each forty-four feet square and six feet deep, with steps leading down into them from the foot of the galleries. These depressions are paved with stone, and are supposed to have been baths.

Passing through the colonnade answering to the arm of the cross, and ascending fifteen feet, we come to the second, or middle terrace. This, like the first, has a row of roofed galleries, supported on the outside by a double row of pillars, and on the inside by a wall with blank windows, having turned rounds of stone. Under the arched roof of this row of galleries are rows of idols. At the four angles are towers similar to those of the outer row.

Passing through the door of this middle terrace we stand in front of the high stairs which lead to the main Prasat, or centre terrace. Ascending these steps, a height of forty feet from the pavement of the middle terrace, we come upon the centre one, which consists of a row of roofed galleries in the form of a square, each side measuring one hundred and seventy feet, and corresponding exactly with the points of the compass. This square has also a tower at each of the angles.

The Prasat, or centre tower, is in the centre of this terrace, and surrounded by the roofed colonnades, to which it is connected at each of the four faces—north, south, east, and west—by short roofed galleries, supported each by two double rows of pillars.

Such is a miniature view of this great temple, as seen by one passing from the front through all the passages that lead up to the centre tower. Let us now take a more minute view of some of the various parts.

THE PRASAT.

This is a tower in the centre of the temple, square at the base, with openings, or canopies looking to the west, south, east and north; in each of which is a standing idol, built in the wall, and each of these four idols facing to the points of the compass. In front of each of these standing images are three sitting and one reclining. There are then altogether five images in each of these arched canopies, under the tower, and twenty in all the four.

Over these arched canopies rises the immense conical tower, to the height of one hundred and ten feet from the pavement. The pavement of this centre terrace, as we have already seen, is sixty-three feet from the level of the ground, thus making the height of the spire one hundred and seventy-three feet. The top of the tower is finished with pointed stones ranged in courses around it.

Leading out from the front of each canopy is an arched gallery, with roof supported by two double rows of pillars, each gallery intersecting the middle of the side of the four square set of galleries that surround the centre tower. These galleries, as has been shown, are one hundred and seventy feet on a side, and consist of an arched roof of stone, supported on the inside by two rows of pillars, and on the other by a wall. At the angles are four arched towers, similar to the centre spire, but smaller. At the angles where these two sets of galleries intersect are four depressions, five feet deep, with two pairs of steps descending into each. The cornices and moulding around these depressions are very elaborate and beautiful.

This seems to have been the sanctum sanctorum, the holy of holies. Here the devout worshippers sat, in these roofed galleries, around the Prasat, each one, whatever his position, able to look upon the image, the object of his worship.

There are three flights of stone steps on each side of this square, descending to the floor of the middle terrace, one at each angle, and one in the middle of the side. The portico or door opening upon these steps from the gallery, projects a few feet from the facade, and is ornamented with pillars, capitals and arched roof. The front of this roof is beautifully and elaborately carved in the form of a ser-

pent with many heads. This serpent is seen winding itself in curves with head erect.

THE BASE.

The base of this terrace, which is forty feet in perpendicular height, is laid with massive stones, which are most elaborately carved in arabesque, and rounded into bold and massive cornice and moulding. The eye wearies in looking over the multifarious carvings and ornamentation of this basement, and the mind is impressed with the power and skill of the workmen who brought from a distance and placed in position these massive stones, so neatly and closely fitted and joined, as even now, after the lapse of ages, to appear almost without seam! The stone in this part of the temple is crumbling. Much of the beautiful carving in arabesque has fallen. Around the foot of this base are heaps of broken and crumbling stones, many of them with parts of figures and flowers, which have fallen from the surface above.

THE ROOF.

The roof is arched, and without key-stone. This fact would seem to indicate great age. Immense blocks of stone extend from one pillar to another, and on these is built the roof in horizontal layers; each layer of the two sides drawn in towards each other a little, until finally the two sides meet at the coping.

These horizontal layers of stone are bevelled both on the outside and inside. The bevel on the outside forms the slope of the roof, and that on the inside the concave of the arch and the ceiling of the galleries. Under the towers in each of the galleries this arching is very imposing, the four corners rising with architrave, frieze and cornice, till they meet at the arch, look like four massive pillars with their cornices joined. The roof is elaborately carved, and at the eaves and gables may be seen the figures of a serpent with seven heads.

THE PILLARS.

In this temple alone there are as many as one thousand five hundred and thirty-two columns. These columns support the roof, and are formed in each case of a single block of stone. The base and capitals are neatly carved. Some of these pillars have inscriptions.

THE CROSS.

After passing through the outer gallery by the front entrance, you come upon an open colonnade about ninety feet long, with arched roof supported by a double row of columns. Another open colonnade with arched roof, exactly similar to this, crosses it midway and at right angles, making the form of a cross. The design and workmanship on the inner part of this open court are truly magnificent.

The elaborations of the work on the roof, the boldness of the massive cornice and mouldings at the base, the elegance and symmetry of the columns, are truly beyond imagination. One may sit in this part of this great temple, and with wonder and amazement gaze upon this wonderful work of art with undiminished interest for many days.

SCULPTURES AND BAS-RELIEFS.

All the mouldings, sculptures, and bas-reliefs in this temple, appear to have been executed after the building was erected. Throughout the galleries in various places, are sculptured in the wall figures of women. The figures and features of these resemble more the Cochin Chinese than any other race now found in the East. The bas relief on the wall of the outer circuit of corridors is six feet four inches wide, and extends around the entire building a distance of two thousand six hundred feet, or about half a mile. These sculptures represent the story of the Hindoo Ramayana. One part represents a battle, where the heads of columns are meeting, each preceded by its leader in grotesque clothing and armor. Following these are fabulous animals, supporting several warriors; then elephants, lions and fabulous beasts, harnessed to chariots filled with the fierce combatants in all imaginable positions, spearing, cutting, biting, choking, kicking each other; the elephants and other animals piercing and trampling their enemies.

This splendid structure is surrounded by a dense forest—many of the trees of unusually large growth—with no inhabitants of the country near. In the town of Siam-rap, which is six miles distant, all the houses are of a very inferior quality, generally of wood and bamboo, and covered with grass-thatch. A few miserable huts of Buddhist priests are now standing in front of this grand temple, in striking contrast with the skill and perseverance of past ages.

What busy scenes were once enacted here! What a magnificent display there must have been at the dedication of this beautiful work of art.

It is a most wonderful structure. The finished and perfect joining of the stones, the carving, the cornices, the columns, the capitals, the towers, the immense stones—everything is a source of wonder. As a whole, it is grand in its design, masterly in finish, and very imposing in appearance.

A NOTE BY DR. GEORGE B. MCFARLAND, DEALING WITH THE
INTIMATE ASPECT OF HIS FATHER'S TRIP TO
ANGKOR WAT IN 1872.

For centuries Angkor Wat lay hidden in the depths of the jungle far from the reach of world commerce. The first effort to bring it from obscurity was that of M. Henri Mouhot who visited Siam and Cambodia from 1858 to 1861, and whose account and drawings of Angkor Wat were the first to bring it to the notice of the world.

Shortly after his return from Angkor, M. Mouhot went to Petchaburi and spent four months in that region. This was May-August 1861. My father and mother had come to Siam the previous year and in 1861 they went to Petchaburi, which then became their home for eighteen years. I have no way of ascertaining whether my father ever met the great naturalist and explorer, but it seems not improbable that such was the case. From his own account we know Mouhot sought out the Roman Catholic missionaries wherever he went in Cambodia, though not himself a Roman Catholic. Common nationality would naturally draw them together, and need of help also caused him to seek them out. It is quite possible that need did not force him to seek out my father, but it is very probable that they did meet. Be that as it may, certainly when word came a few months later of the death of the intrepid explorer in the heart of the jungle of north-eastern Siam on November 10, 1861, no foreigner in Siam was unmoved. The little group was too small to have such an event pass unnoticed. Then three years later M. Charles Mouhot brought out the two volume account of his brother's travels and discoveries. I am sure my father must have read this with deep interest. He himself was a pioneer and toured extensively over the Petchaburi province. The experiences of the Frenchman were something akin to his own.

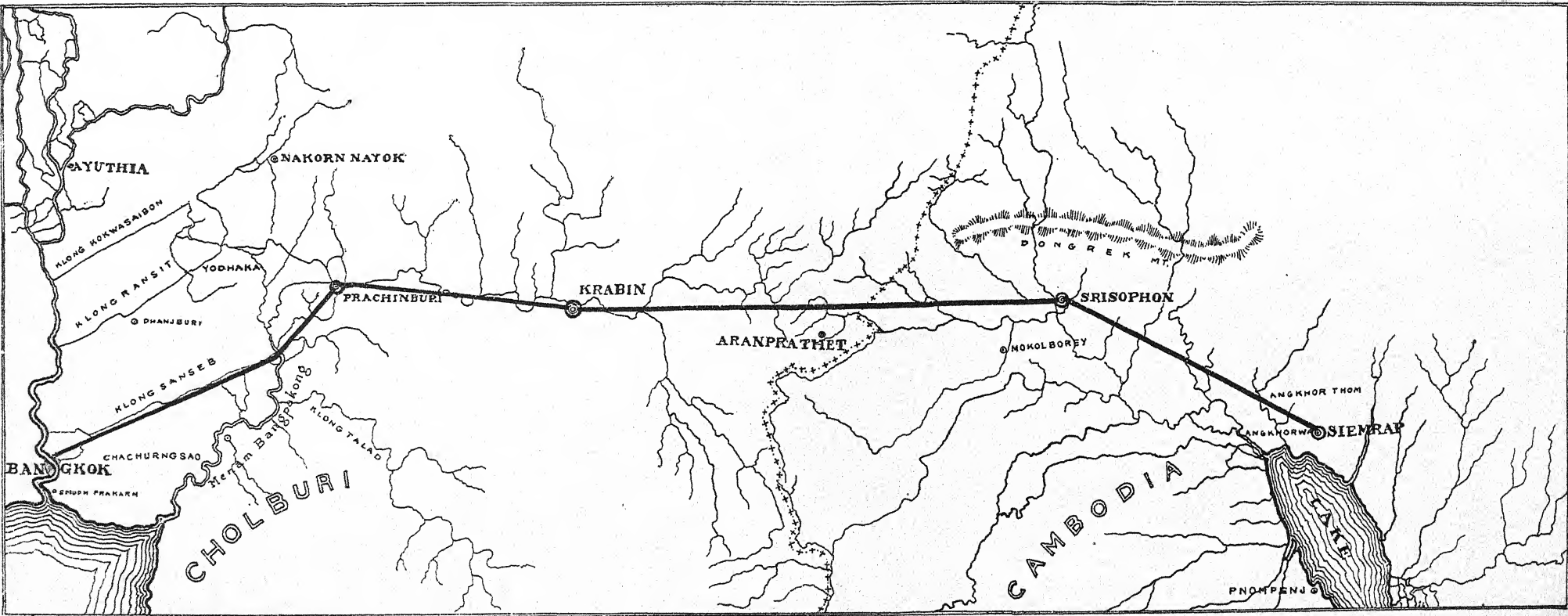
My own memory does not go back so far but it does go back to January 1872 when, at the invitation of Mr. Frank Vincent, Jr., my father left Petchaburi for Bangkok to act as interpreter on the trip which that world traveller proposed to make overland from Bangkok to Angkor Wat. Great excitement reigned in the McFarland home. Even a mere trip to Bangkok filled my childish mind with untold excitement. Two nights must be passed en route in the house boat and sometimes a third if we were unlucky and missed the tide or got

caught in a jam of boats. The adults found the trip a very wearisome one; not so for us children. There were monkeys swinging from the trees, only too ready to come to our bait of bananas. There were iguana sunning on the mud or swimming in the water. There was an endless panorama of human life on water and on shore. It was on one of these boat trips, as I attempted to look out of both sides of the boat simultaneously, that I acquired a nick-name which stuck through adolescence—Perpetual Motion. But this time, I could not go. Perhaps it made the excitement all the greater and our incessant flow of questions about the mysterious wat in the jungle and the forthcoming trip must have wearied my father almost beyond endurance—for I was only one of four. But at last he got off, and we children settled down to a wordy discussion of what father would see and of the fierce animals he would slay in the jungle wilds.

On January 25th, 1872, the little party started from Bangkok. Fortunately a very detailed account is to be found in "The Land of the White Elephant" by Frank Vincent, Jr., and on this I depend rather than on my memory, for a lad of six remembers certain trivial things out of all due proportion to things of real moment.

General F. W. Partridge, American Consul, had also accepted the invitation to join the party, which was composed of "three Americans, one interpreter, six Siamese, and one Chinese, in all eleven persons". A Chinaman named Deng was cook and had travelled with M. Henri Mouhot to Luang Prabang, and later this servant was with him when he died and brought his effects back to Bangkok.

Mr. Vincent writes, "A part of my duty was to select and purchase the food supplies—liquors and provisions in bottles and tins—ale, brandy, sherry, and claret, meats, vegetables, biscuits, soups, condiments, &c.; and potatoes, rice, onions, hams, coffee and tea in bulk. We intended to rely principally upon these, though we also proposed to eke out our preserved, condensed, and desiccated victuals with the produce of the country through which we would journey, viz., rice, fish, poultry, eggs, and various fruits. I used much time in endeavouring to obtain a Cambodian interpreter, one speaking English, or even Siamese, who was willing to go with us, but met with no success. However, Mr. McFarland's servant was a Cambodian by birth, and, though he had lived nearly all his life in Siam, still remembered sufficient of his native tongue to be of considerable



Route followed by the Vincent Party.

service to us. We took an assortment of medicines, especially a liberal supply of quinine, three grains of which we were recommended to take every morning in our coffee by Dr. Hutchinson. Each one had his mattress, blankets, and mosquito netting, though all carried as little personal baggage as consisted with comfort and health. The offensive and defensive (especially) weapons of the party comprehended two revolvers and two or three large bowie-knives. We also carried a few scientific instruments and writing and drawing materials, maps of the country, a selection of books and old magazines, and I packed in my waterproof bags besides a few presents for the King of Cambodia, Governor of Siamrap, and some other great men. Money was carried in several small packages—silver and copper coins—though our letters were adequate to secure for us every hospitality and attention. These letters were simply official orders from the Siamese Minister of Foreign Affairs to governors of the provinces through which it would be necessary for us to pass. "There are three boats. In the first—a four-oar—voyages the General and his servant; next follows a six-oar, with the Missionary and myself; and last goes a four-oar, containing our interpreter, my "boy," "Deng" the Chinese cook and the greater part of the provisions and baggage." Leaving the Consulate wharf the party headed up river, then turned into a narrow canal leading directly east. The old record does not state the name of this canal, so the exact route is left to conjecture. Two general routes were a possibility. Klong Prakanong leads from Bangkok to the Bangpakong river. However, it enters the Menam Chao Phya below the Consulate, which at that time was located where the Borneo Company, Ltd., have their wharves today. As the party headed up river, probably partly to take advantage of the tide, this route was certainly not taken. The alternative route was the logical one anyway. Klong Sen Sep was dug in 1840 to be used as a military waterway owing to continual trouble with Cambodia. It is also known as Klong Bang Kanat. Though it does not itself lead to the Menam Chao Phya, it does join with several canals leading to that river. It was doubtless into one of these canals that the party turned "directly east," passing into Klong Sen Sep, which branches shortly before reaching the Bangpakong river. The party probably took the northern route.

"The boats were anchored about midnight." On the morning of the second day from Bangkok they entered the Bangpakong river. They then ascended it about fifty miles to Prachin, the residence of the Governor.

The Governor was very gracious and invited the party to pass the night in a house he had prepared. They preferred their boats, however, and slept there. From this place the party travelled overland. The Governor secured three ponies for the Americans and four bullock carts for the servants and baggage.

The party was astir at daylight of the 29th, transferred their possessions from the boats to the bullock carts, dispatched the boats on their return trip to Bangkok and felt they were really started. "The road at first led over an even plain, for the most part covered with coarse grass, and in the distance were forests and a low range of blue mountains. Some paddy was cultivated by the roadside, but few dwellings, however, were seen. Those on horseback travelled about three miles an hour and the bullock carts hardly two." Having crossed the Bangpakong river they shortly afterward reached Chantakan—about 15 miles from Prachin. Villagers escorted them with torches to the residence of the Deputy Governor, who gave them the use of two newly built salas and provided dinner. As the carts were still not to be seen, the provision for their wants was doubly welcome.

Their next stop was Krabin. On the 1st of February—one week after they left Bangkok, the party crossed the boundary into old Cambodia. The party rarely accomplished more than twenty miles a day. Camp at night was under spreading trees or at some sala. Fires were built on every side to ward off wild animals and to provide a smoke screen against mosquitos.

Sesupan is the next landmark. There the Governor offered three elephants, three buffalos and one bullock cart, beside making numerous presents. Everywhere Government Officials were most courteous and kind.

Panoum-sok is the next place mentioned in the annals. The Governor was himself away assisting in the cremation of a nephew in Korat. However the Governor's wife saw to it that no courtesy was omitted and even invited the party to join hers as she was leaving the following day for Siamrap. Upon hearing that it was her intention to travel slowly the Americans decided they would better

set their own pace and so started on ahead. On February 11th the party reached Siamrap, having travelled a total distance of 245 miles. "Of this 30 miles was on the Bangpakong river in boats, and the remainder—215 miles—was performed upon horses and elephants, in bullock carts, and on foot; the greater part of the journey, however, was accomplished on horseback. The time consumed in making this trip was seventeen days".

Mr. Vincent writes, "The Governor of Siamrap having provided us with three elephants, on the 13th inst., we started for the ruins of Angkor, three and a half miles distant, to the north. We took but little baggage with us, being rather impatient now that we were nearing the main object of the expedition—the ultima Thule of our desires and hopes—and so we passed quickly and silently along a narrow but good road cut through the dense, riant forest, until, in about an hour's time, on suddenly emerging from the woods, we saw a little way off to the right, across a pond filled with lotus plants, a long row of columned galleries, and beyond—high above the beautiful cocoa and areca palms—three or four immense pagodas, built of a dark-grey stone. And my heart almost bounded into my mouth as the Cambodian driver, turning towards the howdah, said, with a bright flash of the eye and a proud turn of the lip, "Nagkon Wat;" for we were then at the very portals of the famous old "City of Monasteries," and not far distant was Angkorthom—Angkor the Great."

In 1924 my sister, Miss Mary McFarland, visited Angkor and while there saw an old Register of Visitors to Angkor. My father's name was the second on the list. When I realized the desire of a lifetime and visited the ruins in 1934, I tried to discover this Register and see for myself that signature. The only information I was able to get was that this book had been stolen. It must have contained many illustrious names gathered over a span of sixty years.

An interesting episode of my sister's visit occurred as the Curator, now retired, showed her some old pictures of Angkor. She recognized them immediately and when he told her that they were one of two identical sets but that he did not know where the duplicates were, she replied, "They are among my cherished possessions as they were made when my father visited Angkor in 1872."

The visit to the ruins ended, the Vincent party broke up, my father and General Partridge returning as they went and Mr. Vincent going on to visit Saigon. It is interesting to note how nearly the present railway follows the old route taken by the Vincent party.

A NOTE ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASPECT OF
REV. DR. S. G. MCFARLAND'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO
ANGKOR WAT IN 1872.

By Major E. Seidenfaden.

The President of the Siam Society has asked me to write a note dealing with the description of the famous temple of Angkor Wat, written in 1873 by the late Reverend S. G. McFarland, D. D., and being myself one of the devotees of this, to my mind, most magnificent fane amongst the greatest monuments of the world, I do so with much pleasure.

The ruins of Angkor Wat were discovered, or rather rediscovered, by the French explorer and naturalist, Henri Mouhot, on the 22nd January 1860 after they had been forgotten by the civilized world for several hundreds of years.

Mouhot was the first European to give us a detailed description of this wonderful temple, and when comparing his account, as well as that of Dr. McFarland, with the scholarly descriptions and explanations as supplied by such experts in the archaeological science as the late Major Lunet de Lajonquière in his great work "Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge," or Monsieur H. Marchal in his excellent "Guide archéologique aux temples d'Angkor", it is really extraordinary to note how exact is the information given by both of the former narrators, though neither of them was trained in archaeology. The famous German traveller and encyclopedic savant, Dr. Adolf Bastian, visited Angkor Wat during the cold season 1863-64 and he has also given an account of his impression of the great temple in his book "Reise durch Kambodja nach Cochinchina". His description of the bas-reliefs in the outer galleries of the temple is more complete, though at times somewhat vague, than that of Mouhot and Dr. McFarland. A few years later the ruins were again visited this time by members of the famous Doudart de Lagrée-Garnier expedition, which gave an account of their visit on the pages of "Le Tour de Monde".

Other students repeated the description of the temple during the following years. To name the most important :— Bouillevaux in "L'Annam et le Cambodge" 1874; Delaporte: "Voyage au Cambodge" 1880; Moura: "Le royaume du Cambodge"; Tissandier: "Cambodge et Java" 1896; Pavie in his "Mission Pavie" 1898-1904;

Fournerau in "L'Art Khmer"; and the veteran archaeologist Major E. Aymonier in his "Cambodge" 1904; followed by the learned General de Beylié: "L'Architecture hindue en Extrême Orient" 1907; Carpeaux: "Les ruines d'Angkor" 1908; and finally Comaille with his "Guide aux ruines d'Angkor" 1910, for a long time an excellent guide until it was replaced by the more scholarly and up to date book by M. Marchal, mentioned above. Such great authorities as Messrs. Finot, Maspéro, Parmentier, Coedès, Groslier and Stern have of course also added greatly to our knowledge of the temple from the archaeological, historical, epigraphical and artistic point of view. To this must be added the sumptuous illustrated work "Le temple d'Angkor Vat" I-III published by Van Oest.

The date of the construction of Angkor Wat was unknown for a long time, it being surmised that it took place either during the reign of King Suriyavarman II, posthumously named Paramavishnuloka, or his successor Dharanindravarman II. Thanks, however, to the discovery in 1918 by the writer of these lines of an inscription on the door of the inner and southern gopura in the Phimai temple, dated 1108 A. D., set up by a certain Virendradhipativarman, one of Suriyavarman's generals, whose portrait is found in a royal procession depicted on one of the bas-reliefs in the galleries of Angkor Wat, it can now be said with certainty that the construction of the temple was approaching completion, if not completed, by the middle of the 12th century.* The construction must of necessity have lasted for many decades. The age of the temple is thus about 800 years. As stated above, Dr. McFarland's description of Angkor Wat, though rather brief, is very precise and as far as it goes only calls for some few remarks. On page 38 the Doctor says that the depressions, surrounding the cross-shaped gallery between the outer and middle gallery, on their western side, are supposed to be baths. This supposition has since been disproved as the depressions in question cannot and never could hold water. On page 41 the Doctor says that the figures and features of the women (devatas) carved on the pillars and walls of the galleries "resemble more the Cochin Chinese than any other race now found in the East". By Cochin-chinese we nowadays understand Annamites, or the mixture of Annamites and Khmer living within the confines of that part of

* Vide Major E. Seidenfaden "An excursion to Phimai" J.S.S. on page 52 vol. XVII, Part 1, 1923.

Indochina. The Doctor may not, however, have been thinking of the Annamites, as the devatas do certainly not resemble that people.

In this connection it may be of interest to quote Mouhot who, in his posthumous work "Travels in the Central parts of Indo-China, Siam, Cambodia and Laos," Vol. II, p. 24, says: "When looking at the figures in the bas-reliefs at Ongcor, I could not avoid remarking the strong resemblance of the faces to those of the savages" (i. e. the Khâ or Moi). These remarks, coupled with my own observations, seem to be confirmed by M. Marchal, Chief of the Archaeological Service of Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, in his recently published study "Des influences étrangères dans l'art et la civilisation Khmers" (Saigon 1936). As the opinions voiced by this experienced archaeologist have a direct bearing on the forms of the art exhibited in the galleries of Angkor Wat and in other Khmer temples, besides being of general interest to the students of the civilisation of the Far East, I shall venture to quote M. Marchal at some length. M. Marchal says that the Khmer civilisation is constituted of two elements, a Môn, which brought to it the Hindu culture with its literature and religions, and a Malay or Indonesian, which transmitted to it the remains of a very ancient civilisation, the so-called Oceanian, whose cradle is unknown, but the traces of which are found from Central America via the Pacific, Insulinde and India to Madagascar. Too long students of art have classified the art of the Khmer as a simple branch of the Indian art. However true that may be of the beginnings, the Khmer art little by little transformed all the Indian elements till in the XIIIth century A. D. it represented an art totally different from the origins.

Before continuing to quote M. Marchal I should like to point out that one of the most important elements, physically speaking, in the composition of the Khmer people, is the dark negroid strain due to mixture of the Môn-Indonesian with the former Melanesian population. This Melanesian imprint is clearly shown in the features of the statues of the so-called classic (Angkor) school of art with their bulging foreheads, broad noses and thick lips as well as their short chins, features which are very common to meet among the present-day rural population of Cambodia as well as among the primitive Chong, Samrae and Kui. The same observations hold good for the also so-called Dvaravati art, where the oldest images of the Buddha are finely featured almost pure Gupta art, but little by little they

deteriorate and take on the features of the local population, i. e. they become almost negroid with curly hair, broad noses, bulging foreheads and thick lips (see for instance the stone images of the Buddha exhibited in the outside niches in the gallery of Wat Benchamabopit). Mr. le May and I have observed and studied this transformation for years, and our opinion is now confirmed by M. Pierre Dupont in his recent publication "Art Siamois" (which forms a part of "Musée Guimet—Catalogue"). The original Môn were probably fair skinned people, and so are many of them to-day, but the mixture with the Melanesian population created a dark somewhat negroid type beside the original fair one.

With regard to the Oceanian civilisation it seems that Bastian had also some vague ideas of the existence of such a one. In his above quoted book, vol. II, p. 107, he says that the Buddhist apostles, who extended their mission activities right over to Celebes, are met with in the myths and the art of the Polynesians and in Mexico, where they are depicted as umbrella-carrying, legendary personages, finally to disappear somewhere in South America.

M. Marchal further says that it seems that there were two ancient currents of civilisation which profoundly left their mark both in Asia and Oceania, extending even as far as Central America and Madagascar.

One current brought the civilisations of Egypt, Sumer and Akkad via India to the Far East where it met the Oceanian civilisation. The impact of this meeting caused the formation of new elements of culture in China, Indochina and Java. It is thus not only in India that we have to search for affinities with the Khmer art but also in China, Polynesia and in the Maya art of Central America.

M. Marchal thereafter draws the attention to several details, which are *not* of Indian origin, such as the shape of the temple (or palace) roofs in China, Annam, Cambodia and Siam, with their turned up corners and their wooden rafters carved in the likeness of snakes. Though no such wooden buildings have been left us from the golden era of Cambodia, M. Marchal does not doubt that such ones did exist during that time. As M. Parmentier says, "these roof constructions represent something autochthonous for the whole of the East, i. e. from Indochina to Oceania (including the Moi or Khā region, Sumatra, Celebes, etc.) while "it predominat-

ed in Java in the curved roofs of the civilisations of Borobudur." Examples of this Javanese roof style may be seen in this country in the "salas" in front of Wat Benchamabopit, Bangkok, and those flanking the great Naga staircase on the northern face of the giant stupa Phra Patomchedi, Nakhon Patom. As regards particularly the tiered roofs and the snake motif as decoration on the Thai and Khmer temples, Carl Bock, author of "Temples and Elephants," as well as I myself, pointed out the striking resemblance to the ancient Nordic wooden "Stave churches," which date back to the 12th century A. D. (though this style is undoubtedly much older, having been used in the old Scandinavian feasting halls long before the 12th century) and of which a few ones are still in existence in Norway and Sweden. Though I do not dare to propound any new theory about the relations between the temple roofs of Indochina and those of ancient Scandinavia, still it does not seem unreasonable in view of Professor Oswald Sirén's finds of stone reliefs in China, of which almost exact counterparts have been found on the island of Gotland, Sweden, to believe in a common origin, perhaps somewhere in Central Asia.

According to M. Marchal another non-Indian element of the Khmer art is the head of the monster Makara or Rahū, in China called Tao T'ien and in Java Kala. He points out the rôle which is played by the head or mask in the Maya art and in Oceania. This head of the Makara is of course a very favourite element of art in the Khmer lintels, and compositions including it have been classified by Lunet de Lajonquière under type III of lintel decorations.* M. Marchal traces the origin of this element to the head hunting habits of certain primitive people who use the heads of slain enemies for protective magical purposes. In this connection I would add that Dr. Leonhard Adam in "Man," January 1936, p. 9, has published a very interesting illustrated note on a Tao T'ien mask used as decoration on an ancient bronze bell dating back to the times of the Chou dynasty in China (C^a 1050-250 B.C.). Dr. Adam finds the same motif in certain wooden carvings executed by the Haida Indians on the coast of North-West America.

The cult of the snake, naga or dragon, M. Marchal says, had its origin in Mesopotamia, not in India, and from there it spread to India, Indochina, China and even to Mexico (the feathered snake) while, as

* Vide I. K., vol. I, LXXXI-LXXXII.

already said above, the snake motif was very popular in ancient Scandinavia for decorating both its wooden buildings and its war ships. The latter were called dragon vessels from their bows which were carved in the likeness of serpents' heads (also met with in ancient war canoes in Siam, Cambodia and in Polynesia). M. Marchal also compares the Phimanakas in Angkor Thom with the Ziggurats of Mesopotamia and the Teocallis of the Mayas in Mexico and Yucatan. The union of the King of Cambodia with the serpent divinity has its counterpart in the civilisations of Sumer and Chaldea. Even the Garuda is of non-Indian origin; it hails from the ancient arts of Egypt, Sumer (3000 B. C.) and Assyria.

The cyclopean walls, besides in Cambodia, are also found in Peru (and on certain Polynesian islands), while a number of modes of construction are common for Cambodia and Central America.

All these non-Indian elements should go to prove M. Marchal's contention that the Khmer art (and architecture) is of a hybrid composition containing many divers and strange elements. The exclamation so often heard from visitors to Angkor the Magnificent:—"I never saw the like in the whole of the world" is therefore well understandable.

Finally a word about the human types depicted in the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat. We have seen that Dr. McFarland says that they resemble Cochinchinese, and that that saying cannot mean the Annamite population of present day Cochinchina. Mouhot thinks that the type of the sculptures resembles that of the Khā. M. Marchal says that the type of soldiers and chiefs represented on the bas-reliefs in the great temple of Bantay Chmar corresponds exactly to the physical type of the Maya priests and warriors as depicted on *their* sculptures. Common for these two types are the flat skulls, narrow foreheads, receding chins, curved noses, fleshy and hanging lips. This statement is of more than ordinary interest as it may point to a common origin of the Khā and Amerindians. The Khā or Moi population is, however, far from being homogeneous, several of their largest tribes being closely related to the Chām or Malays. The problem raised by M. Marchal's investigations should be taken up for further examination by competent anthropologists without delay.

When Mouhot and later Dr. McFarland and his party visited Angkor Wat, many parts of that splendid fane were much ruined and everything, with the exception of the chaussées and upper

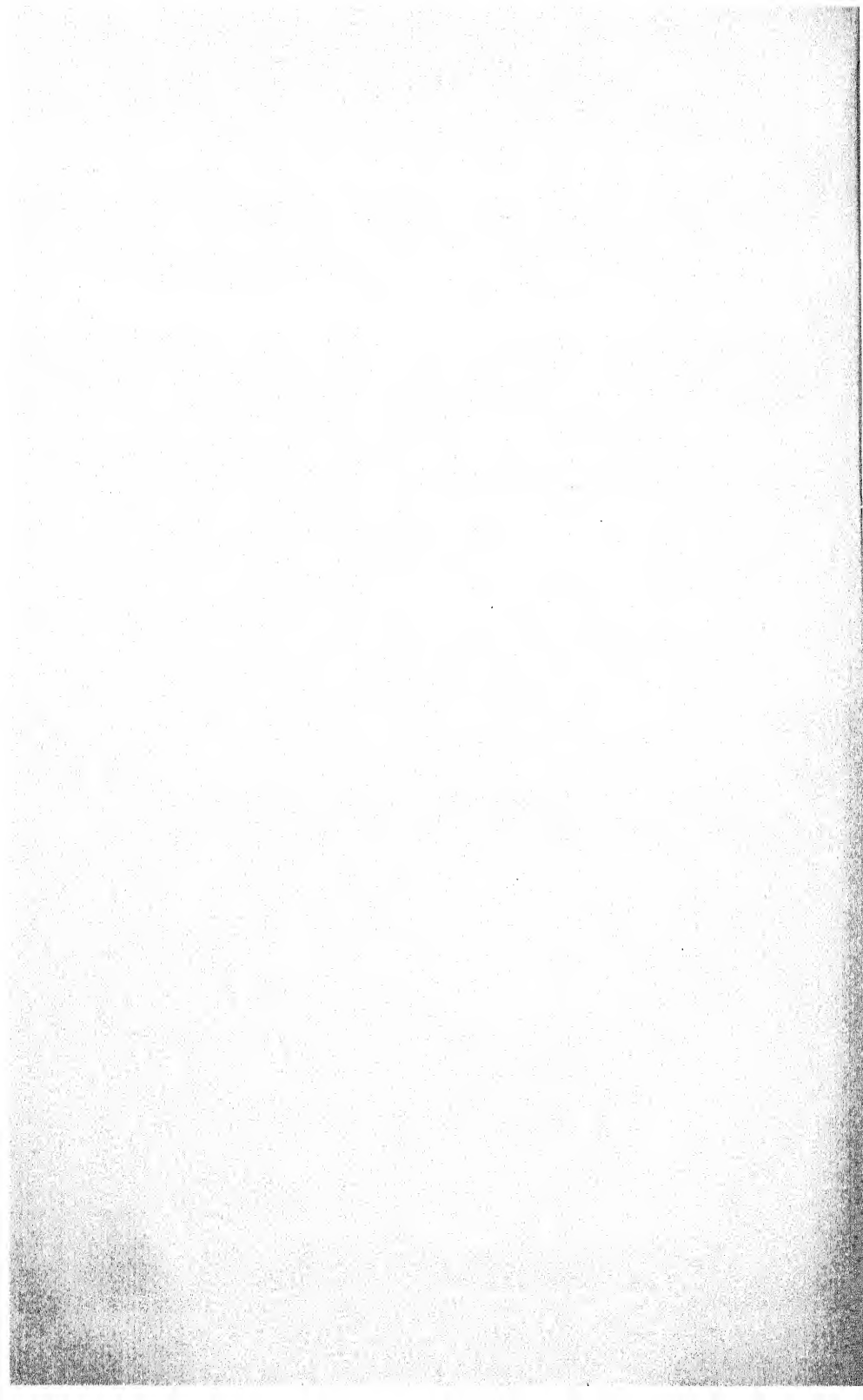
portions of the towers, was overgrown with thick thorny jungle, which made all movements difficult.

Next to destructive man the luxuriant tropical vegetation, especially the banian trees with their long penetrating air roots, is the most deadly enemy of deserted monuments even if these be massive stone buildings. Once the roots of such a parasite has got inside a tiny crack in a wall, they will little by little succeed in widening that crack and in the end break the whole wall asunder! Even some years after the French had taken over the temple area of Angkor access to the ruins was very difficult, due to the thick jungle surrounding them, as will be seen from the excellent photographs published in a contemporaneous album called "*Indo-Chine, pittoresque et monumentale—Ruins d'Angkor*" by M. Dieulefils. All this has long ago been altered for the better, thanks to the energetic and careful labours carried out by the Archaeological Service of the *Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*.

Led by such master architects and savants as Parmentier and Marchal, not to forget Comaille the pioneer, the great work of cleaning up and restoring has now gone on for years. The jungle has been cut down and the huge temple thoroughly cleaned out, and overall where repairs were possible and justified repairs have been made with the material on the spot. Stones fallen down have been put back into their original place; cracks, through which the rain was penetrating, have been closed, and all has been carried out in such a way that large portions of this beautiful temple can no longer be called ruins. The French archaeological service has merited well, not only of the Fatherland, and this includes the Land of the Khmer, but of the whole of the civilized world, and especially among all those who love art for art's sake.

Bangkok, 23rd May, 1937.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.



THE RACES OF INDOCHINA.

Some friends, having read my review of the late Sir George Scott's book "Burma and Beyond", published in J. S. S., vol. XXIX, pt. II, have drawn my attention to certain statements made in that review (p. 142) and asked for a clarification of my views on the racial questions in Indochina. It is quite true that I have quoted Mr. F. H. Giles (Phya Indra Montri) as saying that he thinks that the Riang people were the autochthones of Burma. Mr. Giles now informs me that by saying so he did not mean the true aborigines, i. e., the very first inhabitants of that country, but only a very ancient people.

Though I think that my personal opinion has been expressed elsewhere ("Anthropological and Ethnological research work in Siam", a lecture given before the International, Anthropological and Ethnological Congress, London, 1st August 1934, published in J. S. S., vol. XXVIII. pt. 1, and the Asiatic Review, October 1934), I shall repeat here that according to my opinion the Semang pygmies formed the aboriginal population of Indochina. The Semang may be immigrants themselves, if so they have come from India. Furthermore to quote Dr. J. H. Hutton (see my review of Sir O. Winstedt's "A history of Malaya," p. 154) the Proto-Amtraloids came afterwards and the result of their union with the Negritoes were the Melanesoids. The proof of or the probability of the correctness of this theory are the finds of negrito skulls, and skulls resembling the Papuan, made in certain limestone caves in Tongking, and the undoubted strain of negroid blood in many tribes in Burma (the Kachin) and Cambodia (Khmer, Samrae, Kui and Chong) and also in certain hill tribes in Tongking. The Melanesoids were next driven out or absorbed by the Austro-Asiatics, i. e., the Môn-Khmer people coming from the west. Did the Austro-Asiatics come from west via India, or via Central Asia-China? I believe anyhow that some of them came

from India, from where they brought the megalithic culture of the Mundas. A succeeding wave were the Proto-Malays coming down from the Tibetan marches in Burma to the Malay Peninsula and Insulinde. With regard to the Sakai these probably represent an Australoid people strongly mixed with Indonesians, and as such are later than the Semang. Later waves were the Tibeto-Burmese and Shan (Thai) in Burma; the Thai in Siam and French Laos and Tongking. The Annamites, who originally were a branch of the great Thai people, came from the coastlands of S. E. China.

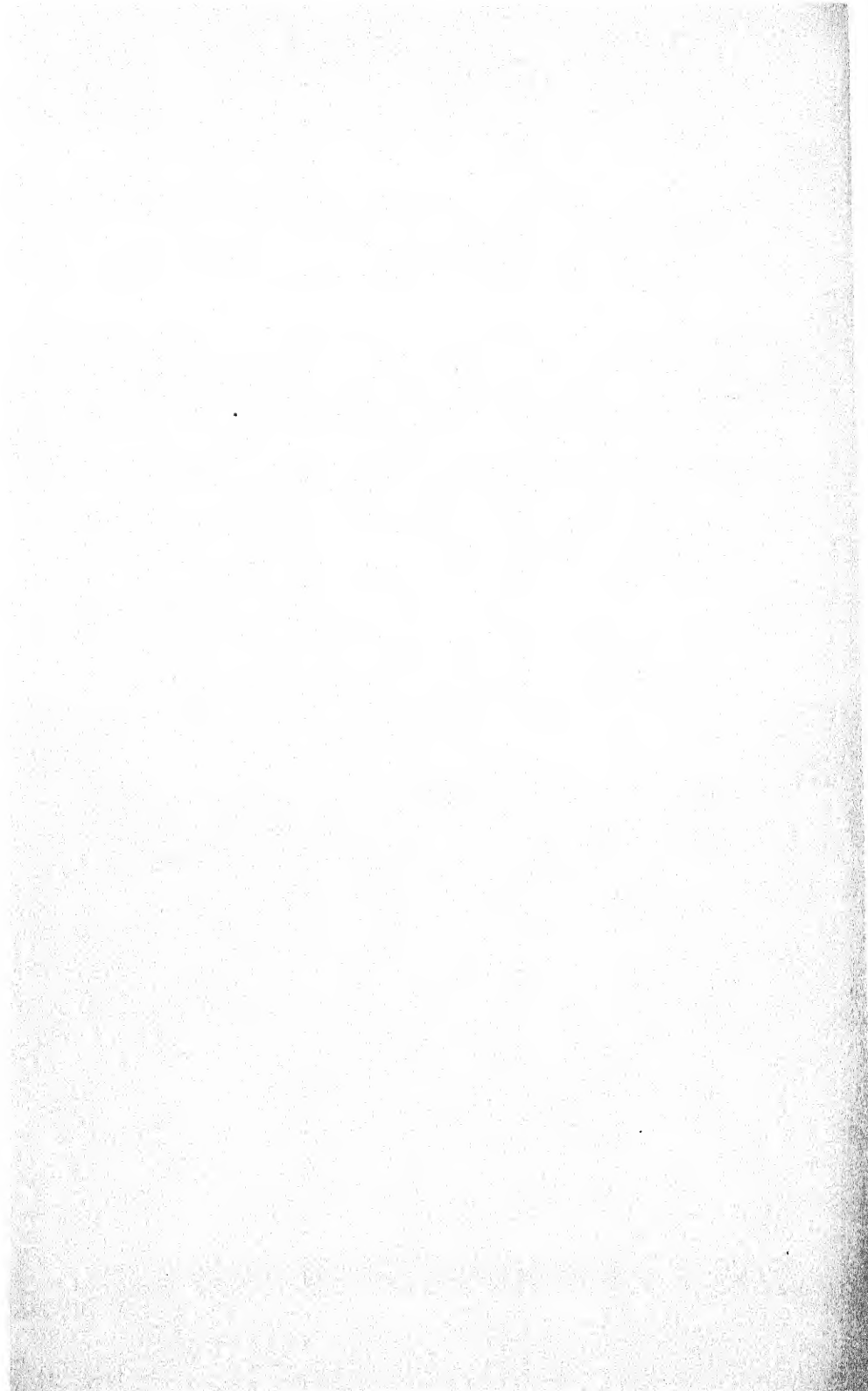
There are no Melanesians left in Indochina or even in Insulinde now, they having been driven eastwards long ago to New Guinea and the western Pacific islands. All the other races are still to-day represented in Siam. There are thus negritoes in Pattani and round Pattalung; Proto-Malays, the Selu'ng, in Puket; Malays in Pattani and Nakon Srithammarat, and plenty of Austro-Asiatics represented by Môn; the Chong in Trat; Khmer and Kui in Buriram, Surin and Khukan; Lawā in North Siam; and Sô, Saek, Khamu ⁽¹⁾ and Kalu'ng in N. E. Siam; and even a few Khā (Brao and Hin Hao) are found along the banks of the Mekhong. Tibetans we have also in North Siam in the form of the Mussö or Lahu or Kô as well as the Lissu with other unclassified Mongols like the Mao, Yao and Tin. Mr. Giles says that when the Siamese speak of the Kariangs meaning the Karen, they are speaking with the voice of racial memory. Now the Riang are a Môn-Khmer people and, though I admit that my personal knowledge of the Karen is too slight to go against such an authority as Mr. Giles, still I am in doubt as the Karens, so far, have been classified among the Sino-Thai. Their language is certainly not a Môn-Khmer tongue. The Siamese designation of the Karen as Kariang (Gariang) may be due to a confusion of names. Capitaine Jean Rispaud, in his painstaking analysis called "*Les noms à éléments numéraux des principautés Tai*", J. S. S., vol. XXIX, pt. II, p. 94, says:—"The ethnical Thai designation Yang leads to confusion. While in Siam and Burma it means in generality Karen (White, Red, etc.), the designation Yang dam (black Yang) on the Sino-Burmese frontier stands for the Riang, a group belonging to the Palaung-Wā which is well known to be very different from the Sino-Thai among which are grouped the Karen".

1) also called Phuthu'ng.

Mr. Giles thinks that there formerly existed a great Khā empire stretching from Burma in the west to Tongking in the east, and that the Riang formed the most important factor in this State. Mr. Giles has informed me that he is preparing a paper on this subject which, one must hope, shall prove to be of substantial help in future researches on the autochthonous populations of the northern parts of Indochina.

Bangkok, 26th May, 1937.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.



THE RICE GRAINS FROM KHU MU'ANG.

In my small archaeological note on Khu Mu'ang published in the J.S.S., vol. XXVII, Part 1, 1934, on p. 107 I say that a well is shown in the middle of the interior moat facing west. This well is called Bô Khao Săn (the rice well) because when it was dug a thick layer of carbonized rice grains was encountered at a depth of about 3 metres. I obtained some of this stuff and Dr. Kerr, Director of the Botanical Section of the Ministry of Commerce, who kindly undertook to have it examined, confirmed that it really was rice grains carbonized by heat. From the accumulation of a layer of earth of 3 metres thickness on the top of the rice it was surmised that the fire which carbonized the rice, must have taken place long ago, probably at least 250-300 years ago. I said furthermore that perhaps the carbonized rice was the contents of a large rice bin, belonging to the garrison of this old temple-fortress, which was burnt down when it was conquered during the wars in the middle of the 16th century between the Siamese and the Burmese invaders.

From his retirement in England Dr. Kerr sent me, some time ago, a copy of the well known scientific review "Nature," No. 3485, Vol. 138, of August 15, 1936, which contains a very interesting article written by Professor John Percival on "Cereals of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia." In this article the Professor says that "All these ancient grains, whether taken from underground pits, storehouses, tombs or vessels within the latter, are more or less carbonized. Naked grains generally exhibit complete carbonization, becoming changed into charcoal; their appearance suggests the action of fire, and they are often erroneously described as charred or burnt. The change from the normal to carbonized grain is, however, a natural process which takes place at ordinary temperatures. The carbohydrates, cellulose and starch, of which the

cereal grains are largely composed, consist of carbon united with the elements of water; under certain obscure conditions, both become slowly dehydrated, leaving behind only the carbon."

Dr. Kerr now seems to be in doubt about his first definition of the rice grains as having been carbonized by heat, and he writes to me that in view of Prof. John Percival's opinion, just quoted, he may have been wrong and I right (who at that time, in 1924, considered the grain in question very old).

However, having pondered over this problem for some time I have arrived at the conclusion that the rice grains must really have been carbonized by heat.

Professor Percival says namely further:—"The dryness of Egypt has greatly contributed to the excellent preservation of all kinds of objects. In Mesopotamia, however, the other great centre of early civilization, the climate and damp soil have led to the destruction of most cereal grains and other plant remains, and very few specimens of grain from this region have been recovered".

As the climate and soil of this country, Siam, is much more damp than those of Mesopotamia the chances for the preservation of cereals buried in the ground is, of course, even smaller than in Mesopotamia. I take it therefore as the most probable course that our grains in Khu Mu'ang were carbonized by heat and not dehydrated slowly by a chemical process, as uncarbonized grains would quickly have been destroyed by the constant dampness of the soil. In this connection it must be remembered that the place of the layer of the carbonized rice is in the interior moat, which during the rainy season is always more or less inundated.

Bangkok, 28th May, 1937.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

" TERRITOIRES ET POPULATIONS DES CONFINS DU YUNNAN."

J. SIGURET.

pp. 307, composed of : text, 266 pp. Bibliography and dynasties, 2 pp.
Index, 39 pp. ;

Editions Henri Vetch.

Peiping, 1937.

The text consists of an integral French translation of four articles in Chinese concerning the inhabitants and resources of the northern and western frontier districts of Yunnan. The authors are four Chinese officials, namely :—

Mr. Wang T'u-jui, concerning the northern and eastern marches.

Mr. Chang Chia-pin, concerning the north-western and north
central area.

Mr. Li Shêng-chuang, who describes seven non-Chinese races
in north and west Yunnan.

Mr. Miao Hui-i, author of a charming travel diary of a journey from Kienchwan across the mountains westward to the Me Khong and onwards over the next range to the Salwin, containing appreciative references to the wild beauty of that sub-tropical Alpine land.

The Index is subdivided into (a), Geographical names, 13 pp.
(b), Personal names. 5 pp.
(c), Non-Chinese races, 2 pp.
(d), General Index, 19 pp.

The Chinese characters are transcribed according to the French system, followed in the Index by an English transcription in italics, which has been adopted in this review.

At the end of the volume are four rough sketch maps,

- (1) General map of Yunnan province.
- (2) Map of north-west frontier region.
- (3) Northern section of the Sino-Burmese frontier.
- (4) Ethnological chart of western Yunnan.

Prefaces by the Chief of the Yunnan Bureau of Education and by General Long, Governor of the Province, commend these articles to the attention of all patriotic Chinese, whose vigilance towards the alleged predatory designs of Great Britain may be awakened thereby,—so it is hoped. In these prefaces emphasis is laid upon the numerical inferiority of the Chinese in Yunnan, in order to demonstrate the folly of the former attitude of China, (contemptuous indifference), towards the non-Chinese residents in her territory. The writers submit that the foundation-stone of a new policy must be the acquisition by the Chinese of a knowledge of their foreign subjects, and a determination to convert them into Chinese citizens before their sympathies are alienated from China by the Christian Missionaries, who seem to be regarded as political opponents.

The translator in a Foreword claims the significance of this new Imperialism on the part of Republican China as his justification for presenting to French readers an integral translation of the contents of the Chinese edition without cuts or corrections: each of the authors, although they are not trained ethnologists, gives the result of his personal research and observation: such information is of obvious value, even if the form in which it is presented may call for criticism.

In the opinion of the Chinese writers translated by Mr. Siguret, the political importance of the Sino-Thibetan and Sino-Burmese frontier districts overshadows that of the other frontiers of Yunnan, since the Sino-Burmese convention of 1894 postponed the delimitation of the frontier north of lat. 25° 35' until such time as the features and condition of the country should be better known. Ten years latter, in 1904, the area in question was inspected by Litton, British Consul at Teng-yueh, in company with Shih Hung-shao, the Chinese Resident of western Yunnan. The frontier line suggested by the latter followed the water-course of the most easterly feeders of the Irrawaddy system in this area; the line suggested by the British was the Kao-Li-Kung-Shan range, which forms the eastern watershed of that system, and overhangs the narrow valley of the Salwin. In the absence of any action by the Chinese other than disowning Shih

Hung-shao, the British erected their frontier posts along the line they had indicated to him, but it was not until 1926, so we read, that they occupied in force the intervening Kiang-Hsin-Po area.

Near the undelimited south-western frontier—the home of the Wild Wa—the British, according to Mr. Li Shêng-chuang, are opening up silver mines at Pang-hai. Since Panhung, the site of another silver-mine, is recognised by them as within the Chinese zone, he implores his government to occupy it in force before the scent of the silver lures the British “Tigers and wolves” to devour it. The alleged cupidity of the British is doubtless stressed as a motive for interesting the Nanking Government in the Imperialistic policy advocated by the authors.

Insubordination towards the central authority on the part of some of the inhabitants of Yunnan and their proneness to raiding offer sufficient grounds to account for the frontier policy of the British. In the eyes of the writers of this book, however, British policy is seen as directed to obtaining a stranglehold over the mountainous country through which the Salwin, Me Khong, and Yangtse flow in parallel gorges on entering Yunnan from the north. The British are suspected of desiring to dominate these mountain ranges, so as to protect their right flank in the event of their invading Szechwan from Thibet, where their influence is a cause of suspicion to the Chinese. For this reason the North-eastern and Northern frontiers of Yunnan, adjacent to Szechwan and Thibet, occupy the first place in Mr Wang’s review, preceding his notes on the Western districts, parts of which are still in dispute between China and Burma.

The North-eastern frontier district of Yunnan is that part of the Yangtse valley between lat. 29°, north, where the river enters Yunnan from western Szechwan, and lat. 26°. 30′ where it ceases to flow north-south, and begins its eastward course towards the China Sea. Before reaching this turning point in its general direction, the Yangtse is deflected north-eastwards for 100 km. by the barrier of the so-called “Snow Mountains”—Hsüeh-shan-shên—round which it has to pass before flowing southwards again, when it passes near the town of Likiang, which is situated on the west side of the river on its southward course, below lat. 27°.

Likiang is the most important strategic point in the N. E. frontier land, since it both commands the caravan route that passes to the west of it connecting southern Yunnan with Thibet, and also forms the

gateway for roads running eastward into Szechwan, near which are the copper deposits of Yungpeh and the goldfields of Muli, the development of which has been obstructed by the chieftain of Muli. Yungning, another petty fief northward of Yungpeh, contains the most fertile land in the district. From Likiang a road running north on the eastern side of the Yangtse connects it with Chungtien, the chief town of the district and famous for its Lamasery, built up over a hill, like Hong-kong. From Chungtien a track crosses the Yangtse and connects Chungtien with the most northerly town in Yunnan, Atuntze, some 100 km. to the north-west, on the main caravan route over which the tea of south Yunnan is carried into Thibet. Atuntze is the seat of several Lamaseries, but of none equal in size to that of Chungtien.

Although this north-eastern area of Yunnan contains but little level land, it contains much potential wealth in its mineral deposits east of the Yangtse (which is here known as the Kin-Sha, or "river of golden sand"); it also contains grazing land capable of supporting large stock and dairy farms. The population is mainly of Thibetan stock, Ku-tsung, whose language, although it differs in pronunciation and vocabulary, is Thibetan, and the script transcribes the spoken language phonetically. The dances and some of the social customs of the Ku-tsung remind Mr. Wang of Europe.

The Ku-tsung are completely under the domination of their Lamas, who forbid the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the country by appealing to the superstitions of the people. Their habit of polyandry is attributed to the excess of males and to fears of overpopulation. The bloodthirsty savagery of which they are capable is accounted for by the fact that the most cultured elements enter the Lamaseries.

The Ku-tsung of Atuntze and Chungtien are Thibetan at heart and Mr. Wang has little hope of converting them into Chinamen. Those however in the Likiang area are more promising subjects for Chinese evangelisation, since their Lamas are somewhat decadent, neither do they enjoy a religious monopoly, having to compete with the Tuo-Pao, faith-healers, who exorcise maleficent spirits and possess a script which has been studied by Dr. Rock, an American expert in Agriculture and Forestry, who has lived for some years in Likiang district. Although no details are given in this book on the Mosö -Dr. Credner's Mussö-or Nakhi-they are numerous in the neighbour-

hood of Likiang.⁽¹⁾ Dr. Rock's book on these people is announced in Kegan Paul's spring list for publication shortly. Dr. Rock is stated to hold the belief that the Mosö would be amenable to the influence of education.

Of the Lolo, who also inhabit this area, no details are given in this book.

The North-central area, between lat. 29° and 26° east of the Salwin and west of the Yangtse drainage, is sparsely inhabited by people of Thibeto-Burman stock, the Nu-tze and Lisö (Dr. Credner's Lissu) in the north, and by a people of Chinese stock who have developed a separate language, the Min-Chien (Dr. Credner's Mintshia) in the south. Dr. Credner's map shows also Mosö in this area, but they are not mentioned by the writers of this book, neither are Yao or Miao, found by Dr. Credner.

The chief towns are Weisi, north of lat. 27°, and Lanping, south of that latitude, with Kienchwan further east on the main route to Thibet,—all of them east of the Me Khong. The wealth of this section lies in the salt mines of Liki, on the banks of the Me Khong, from which 200,000 lb. of Salt are stated to be extracted monthly.

West of the Me Khong, in the Salwin drainage, are the towns of Shangpa and Chihtzeloh, westward, and north and south respectively of Lanping. Twelve days journeying over the hills to the north and west of Chihtzeloh brings the traveller to Changputung, a town on the west bank of the Salwin, with a population mainly of Kiti-Tze.

The Kiti-Tze and Nu-Tze are both of Thibetan stock, like the Lisö, but the Kiti-Tze are a timid and backward people who are exploited alike by Lisö and Thibetans. The writer of the essay on this section regards the Nu-Tze as a link between Lisö and Kiti-Tze. Mr. Li holds that Ku-tsung, Nu-Tze, and Lisö had a common ancestry in Thibet. Nu-tze and Liso both emigrated further south than the Ku-tsung, but as the Nu-tze emigrated before the Lisö, the latter were compelled to wander further south than the Nu-tze in order to find land for settlement, and thus lost many of their earlier customs and characteristics, which have been retained by the Nu-tze, who remained in the vicinity of the Ku-tsung.

(1) "Kulturgeographische Beobachtungen," in J. S. S., XXVII, pt. 2.

The Western frontier of Yunnan, north of lat. 26°.

Westward of the Kao-Li-Kung mountains, in the Cha-Shan district (now British territory of the Myitkina triangle), the main portion of the population is Kachin. They call themselves Ginthraw: the Chinese call them Yeh-Jên, Pu-Man, or Shan-T'ou (Mountaineers). They are supposed to be descended from the original inhabitants of Yunnan, the Pai-Man. In addition to Kachin, a few Lisö and Kiü-Tze settlements are shown in this area on the race-chart, together with a single group of Pai-Yi situated to the north-west of Myitkyina.

The Western frontier of Yunnan between lat. 25° and 26°.

Kachin predominate, with a single group of Pai-yi just above lat. 25° and just west of the Salwin, near the Tali-Bhamo trade route.

In both areas the population is scattered, markets non-existent, and trade confined to the Chinese merchants who come over in the autumn to barter sheep, cattle, salt, opium, etc., in exchange for forest products, tiger bones, horns, hides, musc and medicinal herbs, ivory, etc.

The Western frontier of Yunnan between lat. 23° and 25°.

In this area, and in its eastward extension into Yunnan province south of Tali, Pai-yi predominate. Only one Lisö and three Kachin settlements are recorded.

The Western frontier of Yunnan south of lat. 23°.

Near to lat. 23° the British frontier crosses east of the Salwin at Kunlong ferry, below which is the country of the Wa, part of which is claimed by China.

Of the seven races above-mentioned, Kachin, Pai-yi, Wa, Nu-Tze, Kiü-Tze, Ku-Tsung, Lisö, extensive notes are given by Mr. Li on their spiritual and material culture, social organisation, and language. Physical anthropology, however, is excluded from the survey. The notes on the Pai-yi and the Wa will be of especial interest to people in Siam, since the Pai-yi are T'ai, and the Wa are akin to the Lawa, who still survive in parts of Siam. Pai-yi are said to be numerous in south-eastern, southern and south-western Yunnan, (doubtless, T'aidam, Lu' and Shan.)

It is to be observed that the Pai-yi of the western frontier profess, at least nominally, a Buddhism derived from northern Burma together with their script, of which specimens are given in this book. A Kachin legend describing the relations of Kachin, Pai-yi and Chinese

to each other holds that there were once three brothers, whose names, seniority, and relative strength were in the order above-stated. Their father dismissed the oldest, Kachin, to the hills, since he alone had the strength requisite for life there; the steamy valley was allotted to the second son, Pai-yi, since his stamina sufficed to withstand the valley mists; the fertile lands of the open country fell to the youngest son, whose progeny multiplied there exceedingly. This legend is of interest in connection with Dr. Credner's observation that the Pai-yi, wherever he encountered them, were always in the tropical, irrigated lowlands, but never on the mountains. He believes that the T'ai spread into Southern Yunnan and the Shan states from the tropical valleys of Kweichow and Kwangsi, eastward of Yunnan, and not via Szechwan from the north, as it was the fashion at one time to believe.

The Kachin and Wa share in common with the Lawa a belief both in disembodied spirits of heroes, and in those of the powers of nature. Both Kachin and Wa are said to venerate the spirit of a legendary hero, K'ung-ming, the foremost figure in their hierarchy.

We are told that the Kachin are organised socially on the basis of a communal ownership of property. Their communism does not extend to allowing women equality of status with men.

The Chinese writers leave no doubt in their readers' minds that the objects of their ethnological research are political rather than scientific. With regard to the insubordinate chieftains of Muli and Yungning, Mr. Wang realises that forceful measures are required immediately in order to obtain proper exploitation of the mineral resources which they are holding up. Apart from this, his recommendation is rather peaceful penetration than force. He writes:—

“There must be no illusions as to quick results. Let us see whether the spirit and the methods of the American and European Missionaries may not be applied to our political evangelists who come to these regions to spread the gospel of enlightenment... The former are all adepts in healing: they begin by winning confidence through their medical skill: they spend money upon charitable institutions: they give their whole time to learning the local dialects and studying the character of the people, with the object of coming as close to them as possible.... lastly, they open schools where they carry on the propaganda of their Faith.

"As a result of the experience gained in recent decades, they take advantage of the weak points and the good qualities which they observe among these people in order to gain their affection and win them over. They thus obtain conformity from these people without applying any compulsion." (pp. 61-62).

It may be doubted whether the Christian Missionaries would enjoy the success attributed to them by Mr. Wang if it were their object to change the national consciousness of their converts, as Mr. Wang would do, converting non-Chinese people into Chinamen, and ultimately making them uniform with himself in language and custom.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Siguret, in reproducing the Chinese maps without alteration, did not supply a corrected map of Yunnan. Map⁽¹⁾ confuses the Shweli and Taping rivers: it also confuses the provincial boundary line between Szechwan and Yunnan with the course of the Yangtse, throwing doubt upon the position of Chungtien, which has to be verified by a footnote. Map,⁽²⁾ which locates Chungtien correctly, shows the Yangpi tributary of the Me Khong running north and debouching near Weisi, while map⁽¹⁾ shows it running south, with its mouth well below the Tali-Bhamo road. Although the maps contain more detail, they inspire less confidence than the sketch map which accompanies Dr. Credner's article in *The Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. XXVII, pt. 2. His "Yunnanreise" of 1930 receives frequent reference in this work.

The distinction of the French version and the scholarly precision of Mr. Siguret's Index add greatly to a foreigner's appreciation of a most interesting compilation.

Chiengmai, 9th June, 1937

E. W. HUTCHINSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ARE CERTAIN INDIAN RITES OF MELANESIAN ORIGIN ?

The rite of "wien thien," or passing the lighted tapers in a circle, is a well-known and integral part of several important ceremonies in Siam. It is used both in purely Brahmanical and purely Buddhist ceremonies. It may be used in case of persons, of certain objects or even buildings which it is desired to protect against evil influences. We encounter this rite as a part of the Tonsure ceremony; at the former annual oath-taking with drinking of consecrated water—Tu'nam; at the blessing of the nine-tiered royal umbrella in the Chatr Mongkol ceremony; and even in such a purely Buddhist ceremony as that of "buat nāk", the ordination of a layman and his reception into the brotherhood of the yellow-robed monks. Here the candidate is placed on the floor in the upasada or bôt, and lighted tapers are passed round him, each of the assisting persons fanning the smoke of the tapers towards the candidate. A building may also be the object of such a ceremony, which is sometimes the case with Wat Phra Kaeo, the national sanctuary of the Siamese. Here the assisting persons walk round the building with lighted tapers in their hands, fanning the smoke towards the sacred building. Dr. Quaritch Wales, in his meritorious pioneer work called "Siamese State Ceremonies," says that this rite is a form of pradaksina intended to ward off evil influence and that it is well known in India, being first mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana.

Professor P. S. Sastri, of the National Library, Bangkok, writes kindly as follows:— "A rite exactly similar to "Wien Thien" is still observed in the temples of Malabar (a district on the West Coast of Southern India). They call it "Talappili". This word "Talappili" is compounded of two words; — Talam = plate (cf. the Siamese

word Kongsadal *) and pili = hold (verb). The rite is named thus because young unmarried girls who do the Indian "Wien Thien" carry a lighted lamp on a plate in their hands. I have seen the rite myself, and when I saw the "Wien Thien" here I was very much struck by the similarity between the two. The object of the rite is to remove the bad effects of the "evil eye" and it is therefore performed in India when an image of a deity which has been taken out on a ceremonial procession has returned to the temple".

In a recent book called "Sex and temperament in three primitive societies", the authoress, Miss Margaret Mead, says, on p. 94, that the girls of the Arapesh tribe in Northern New Guinea, after their first menstruation, are placed in the agehu or village feast place, where they are encircled with fires. When asked the reason for this custom, the natives replied that they did not know! There can, however, be no doubt that this ceremony is meant as a purifying and protective rite and as such it recalls strikingly the rite of "Wien Thien", as performed both in Siam and in India.

The rite of piercing the earlobe is also found among certain tribes in New Guinea, which ceremony in Burma takes the place of the "kon chuk" or Tonsure ceremony in Siam.

As will be known, recent researches in India tend to prove that the Melanesians came from that country.† It therefore seems not unreasonable to assume that the rites of "Wien Thien" and the piercing of the earlobe are both of Melanesian origin. To assume the opposite, namely, that the Melanesians got these rites from the Aryan Brahmans is not likely, as the ancestors of the Melanesians of New Guinea must have left India long before the Aryan invasion took place. A second alternative would be that the Melanesians could have received these rites from the city building people of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa in the Indus valley (C^{ca} 3,000 B. C.) but this solution must also be rejected as the Melanesians' departure from India must have been prior to the building of the cities in N.W. India by many thousands of years. At what time the Melanesians left India to migrate via the Malay Peninsula and Insulinde to New

* The Siamese word is กิ่งสดาด—E. S.

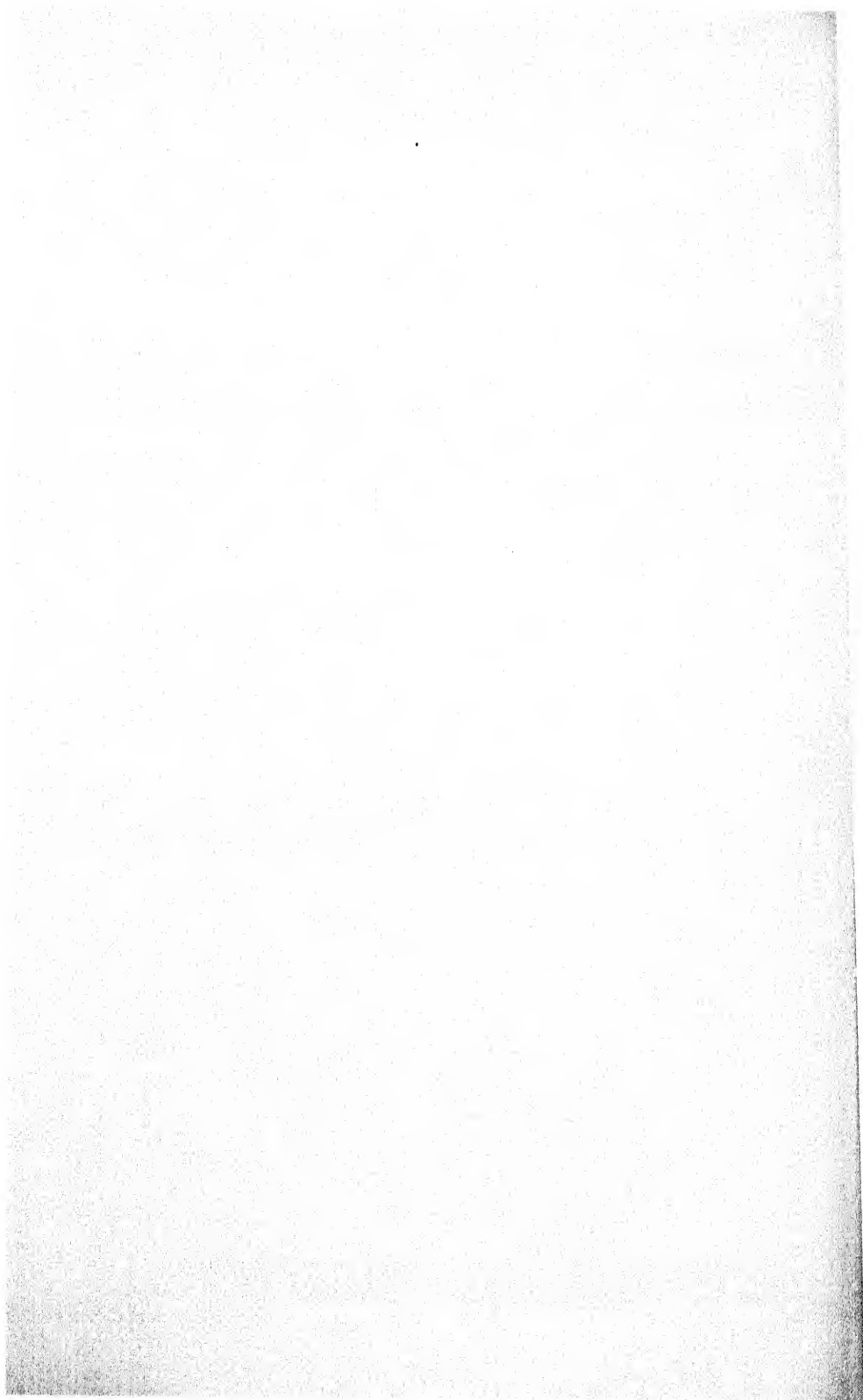
† See the writer's review of Sir R. O. Winstedt's "A history of Malaya" J. S. S., vol. XXIX, Part 2, p. 154.

Guinea and Melanesia we shall perhaps know when Dr. van Stein Callenfels, in a near future, will have finished his work on the discovery of Melanesian skeletons made on the mainland opposite Penang a few years ago.

In this connection it may be useful to point out that for the time being quite a number of European and American students of anthropology and sociology are doing useful research work in Melanesia, and as it becomes more and more an accepted fact that the Melanesians were immigrants from the west the work of these students should be followed closely by all students of the same matter in Hither and Further India. It is very likely that many ancient and obscure beliefs, traditions and customs in both of the Indies, which hitherto seemed inexplicable, may find their explanation in corresponding ones still alive among the Melanesians of New Guinea and the other Pacific islands.

Bangkok, 22nd May, 1937.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

"La responsabilité collective au Siam."

par Robert Lingat.

Revue historique de droit français et étranger.

1936. pp 523-539.

(Recueil Sirey. Paris).

Collective responsibility, where the relatives or neighbours of a fugitive from justice are held responsible either for his discovery and capture or for the delinquency committed, is now only recognised in authoritarian states or in territories where a new régime has not yet been sufficiently well established to depend upon the ordinary instruments of justice for maintaining order.

An echo of the principle of Collective responsibility has survived in the English Public Schools, where the whole school is threatened with the loss of a half-holiday unless certain unknown delinquents are discovered: it is here a substitute for criminal investigation. It is also employed as a deterrent, when a master threatens a penalty to each member of his class if an insubordinate act, for which only one member may be the cause, is repeated.

The school or class in these instances is a replica of the social unit, and order is maintained by an appeal to the collective sensibilities of the members of the unit.

Mr. Lingat, in his interesting monograph upon the application of this principle in Siam, subdivides it into family responsibility, and group responsibility.

With regard to family responsibility, Mr. Lingat shows that at the time of its earliest mention in the laws of the Ayut'ia period, the responsibility was restricted to the obligation which rested upon any relatives who could be regarded as accomplices of a delinquent to

search for him and hand him over to justice. In the event of their failure to do so, justice was satisfied with a declaration in writing by them of their non-complicity: only certain members of the family were liable: furthermore, the liability only applied in the case of certain delinquencies, and where reparation was required, it was milder than that meted out to the actual delinquent.

This was a survival from an earlier period when penalties attached to the mere fact of being related to a delinquent. Mr. Lingat attributes this gradual reduction in the importance attaching to family responsibility to a shrinkage of the family unit in the course of centuries. Originally possessions were held in common by all relatives who comprised one big family group. Later, the group tended to subdivide, when the children on marrying set up their own families, so that in time the family came to be restricted to father, mother, and unmarried children; and the wife and children of a delinquent were held responsible for his fault on the ground that they formed part of his property.

Mr. Lingat holds that this shrinkage of the family group was not due to a growth of individualism with corresponding increase in the sentiment of personal responsibility, but rather to the establishment of a feudal system in which each male was attached, for purposes of public works and warfare, to a civil group, of which there were many, each group being officered by chieftains responsible to the King.

If family responsibility decreased, responsibility of the civil group tended to be emphasised more and more until comparatively recent times when the whole system was remodelled to conform with western ideas.

Mr. Lingat shows the progressive development of group responsibility from the earliest statutes beginning in 1360-67, in which the united efforts of members of the group in which armed robbery or murder had been committed were required to bring the author to account.

The order of 26. July, 1737, required reparation by the group for damage done, if the perpetrator was not discovered: that of 27. May 1743, added precision to it: that of 1783 subjected to severe penalties those living in the vicinity of sacred edifices rifled by marauders, if they failed to bring the latter to justice: that of 16. July, 1837, fixed responsibility amounting to two-thirds of the damage done upon

all living within a radius of 200 metres of the site where a theft had been committed...etc.

In the cases cited, the purpose of collective responsibility in Siam seems to have developed from that of criminal investigation, first, into a form of amends for wrong done, and later, into a deterrent from wrong-doing—the form which it takes, when it appears elsewhere at the present day.

With reference to the most primitive form, when penalties attached to the mere fact of relationship with a delinquent, it is of interest to learn that in the neighbouring Lao state of Vieng Chan in the year 1686, this primitive form survived, though long outgrown in Siam. Our authority is the letter of Phaulkon to Fr. de La Chaise, dated Leuvo, 20. November, 1686.

“The King of Lahos has a son and a daughter by different
“wives. Last February it was discovered that they were coha-
“biting in secret with the consent of their respective mothers.
“The King gave orders for the decapitation of the young people
“and their mothers, and sent out to arrest all their friends and
“dependents. They came to take refuge here to the number of
“six hundred.”

Chiengmai, 29. March, 1937.

E. W. HUTCHINSON.

“Une lettre de Véret sur la Révolution Siamoise de 1688.”

par Robert Lingat.

T'oung Pao. vol. XXXI. liv. 3-5.

E. J. Brill, Leiden.....1936.

Véret was Agent in Siam for the French East India Company at the time of Phaulkon's fall in May 1688.

So far as is known, this is the only letter of Véret's which has survived him. It is dated, Pondichéri, 3 March, 1689, and was addressed to Mr. André Boureau Deslandes, who six months earlier had been appointed Agent in Bengal of the Company at Hugli, near the modern city of Calcutta.

Mr. Lingat gives a reasonable explanation to account for the presence at the present time of part of Deslandes' correspondence among the Municipal Archives of the Seine, where this letter is filed.

He then devotes several pages to a brief account, well documented, of Deslandes' career with the Company, which explain why the latter should have been the recipient of this letter.

Deslandes had established the French Agency in Siam, and as Manager there between the years 1680 and 1683, had experienced many difficulties until he cultivated the acquaintance of Phaulkon, who began to have influence in the Ministry of Treasury after the end of 1682.

Between 1684 and 1687, Deslandes was employed both at Surat and at Pondichéri, but his knowledge of affairs in Siam and his presumed influence with Phaulkon were such that the Company decided to send him back to Siam for a few months in the autumn of 1687, in order that Cébérét and La Loubère, the Envoys to Siam from Louis XIV. in 1687, might enjoy the benefit of his advice.

He quitted Siam for good in the company of Cébérét early in 1688, having discovered that Phaulkon was no longer so well disposed towards the French as he had been four years earlier.

Véret's letter describes for Deslandes' information what happened in Siam after the latter's departure: the illness of the King: the consequent decrease of Phaulkon's influence, and the gradual extension of "Pitrachaye's"⁽¹⁾ power until it culminated in Phaulkon's arrest and the execution of "Prapit",⁽²⁾ the rival of "Pitrachaye": the execution of Phaulkon early in June: finally the difficulties experienced by the French garrison in Siam, which suddenly found itself in a hostile country, and which only succeeded in extricating itself in November, when all the French troops, accompanied by the French Jesuits, and by Véret, left Siam.

If the letter does not add much to the accounts we possess already of the French soldiers and Missionaries, and if it adds nothing at all to explain Véret's treachery, (when he was a hostage with the Siamese), in deserting his fellow hostage, Mgr. Laneau, whom he abandoned in their hands; the letter is nevertheless of great interest.

Véret in this letter confirms the reference made by Martin on 28. Sept., 1688, to a report of Véret's in February of that year to the effect that he was opening up a copper mine in the Lop'buri district. In the letter under review, he says that this mine might have been

(1) Pra P'et Rāchā.

(2) P'ra P'i.

a good proposition but for political events which put an end to its exploitation. Mr. Lingat calls attention to a further confirmation of the existence of this mine, which is mentioned in the "Relation du Sieur de Beauchamp," which states that Beauchamp spent two days there.

Furthermore, Véret supports both the Abbé de Lionne and Fr. de Beze in their mention of a warning sent by the dying King to Phaulkon in March or April 1688 that he should escape while there was yet time.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the letter deals with Véret's share in dissuading General Desfarges from complying with Phaulkon's request to bring up French troops from Bangkok to Lop'buri, with the object.—according to Phaulkon—of circumventing the rivals to the dying King's throne.

Véret quite spontaneously confirms the long self-defence of the Abbé de Lionne, in which the latter tells how their advice was solicited by Desfarges, and how with Véret's support they persuaded the General not to split up his small force and so risk being overwhelmed, but rather invite Phaulkon to join him instead.

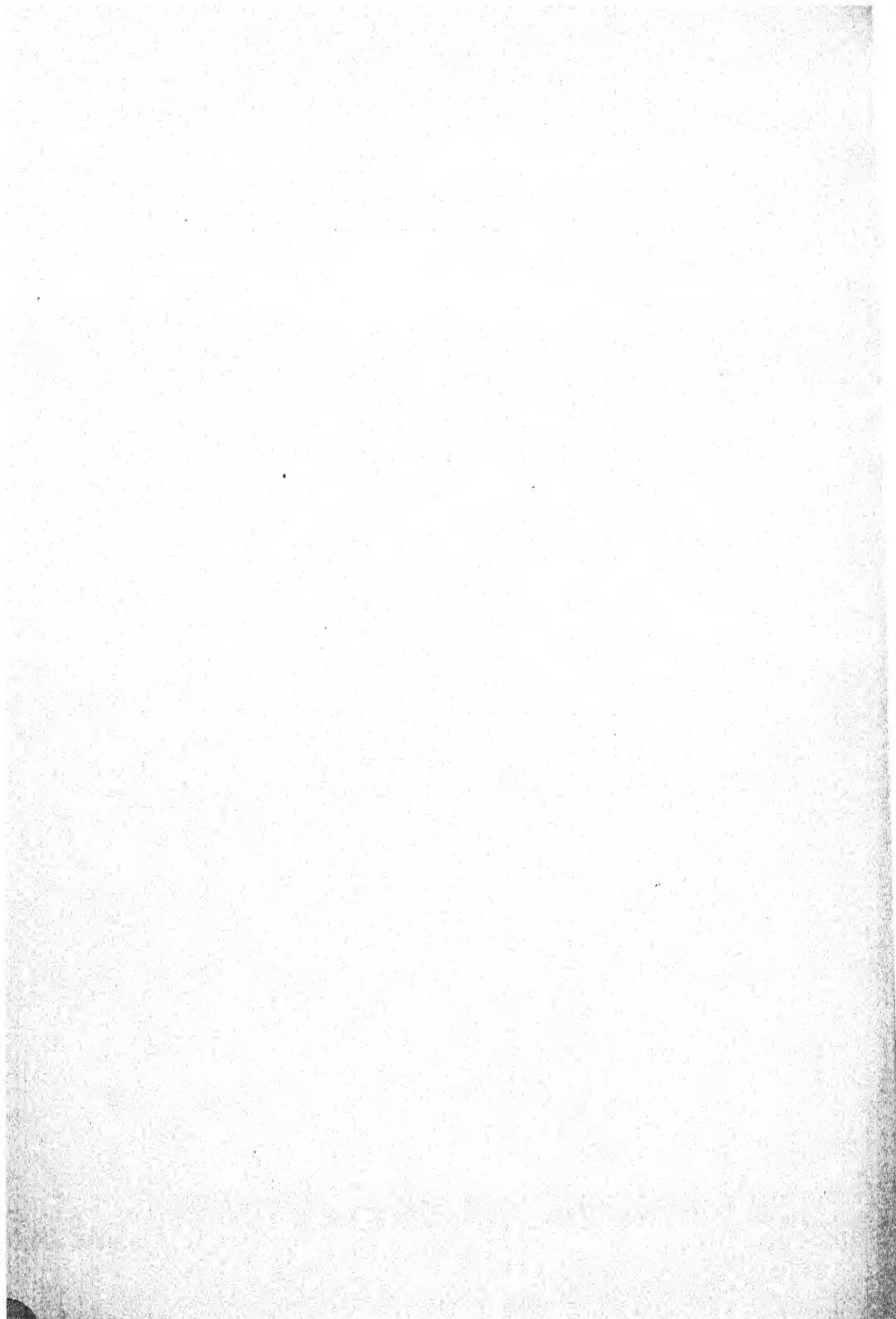
Véret gives no reason for Phaulkon's disregard of this invitation. Earlier in the letter he says that Phaulkon kept up a bold front and refused to admit his danger, although it was evident to all. Whether Phaulkon's bold front was that of the fanatic or that of the newly-created Knight of the Order of St. Michael, it was courage of a high order in a man who ten years earlier had been a humble bowsman's mate in an English merchant ship.

There can now be no doubt at all that Véret, the clerics and Desfarges were all justified in refusing Phaulkon's request whatever their motives may have been.

Finally the letter leaves an impression that Desfarges, the much criticised General, behaved throughout with great coolness and bravery in a difficult situation. Mr. Lingat deserves the thanks of all students of this period for the scholarly presentation he gives of Véret's letter.

Chiengmai, March, 1937.

E. W. HUTCHINSON.



PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST IN OTHER JOURNALS.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Vol. 12, 1936.

Heras, the Rev. Fr. H.: *The Origin of the so-called Greco-Buddhist School of Sculpture of Gandhara*, pp. 71-97.

The most important conclusions of the Rev. Brother are that the so-called Greco-Buddhist School of Gandhara did not flourish in the centre of the Greek possessions in the East but only in the regions south of the Hindukush and in the north-western provinces of Hindustan; that, not being influenced by Greek models or ideals, it aimed at the reproduction of reality rather than the physical beauty of man; that it was the continuation of the artistic tradition of the Dravidian nation; and that it flourished under the patronage of Kanishka and degenerated with the admittance of Aryan artists among the sculptors.

Indian Art and Letters.

Vol. X, no. 1, 1936.

Wales, H. G. Q.: *Further excavations at P'ong Tük*, pp. 42-53.

The most interesting results of these excavations are undoubtedly several skeletons which Dr. Wales calculates to be of a more remote date than the 6th century A.D., which has been assigned so far to P'ong Tük. In view of Phya Nakon Phra Ram's contentions based upon the evidence of pottery (cf. JSS. Vol. XXIX, part 1), this would seem to be possible.

Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Vol. XIV. part 2, 1936.

W. Linehan: *History of Pahang*, pp. 1-256 (whole volume) with 2 maps.

Vol. XIV. part 3, 1936.

Coedès, G.: *A propos d'une nouvelle théorie sur le site de Srivijaya*, pp. 1-9.

The writer sums up the article by Dr. Wales ("A newly explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion", *Indian Art and Letters* Vol. IX, No. 1.) by saying that most of it being matters that had been dealt with by others, there remain but two points of interest and novelty, namely: (1) that the route Takuapa-C'aiya was an important means of penetration for Indian culture from the west; with the result that C'aiya became a centre for the diffusion of that culture all over Indo-china and Insulinda; and (2) that C'aiya was the first capital of the Empire of the Sailendras. While admitting the possibility of the former part of the first hypothesis, Dr. Coedès rejects the latter one; and, as for the second hypothesis, a challenge to Dr. Coedès' theory of the Srivijaya Empire of Sumatra, it is judged by him as "a geographical impossibility".

Braddell, R.: *An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca*, part II, pp. 10-71.

This is the continuation and conclusion of an exhaustive study based mainly upon Ptolemy's Geography and the local annals,

Vol. XV. part 1, 1937.

Baker, V. B. C.: *Notes on the Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula, &c.*, pp. 27-31.

Some interesting facts about the "Orang Siam" or "Men of Sia" of whom the writer says: "These miner colonists were evidently of pre-Thai stock."

It might be mentioned in this connection that in modern Siamese history a race known as "Khek Sia" are spoken of as occasional raiders of the south of Siam.

Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient.

Tome XXXV, fasc. 1.

Parmentier, H.: *Complément à l'Art khmer primitif*, pp. 1-115.Groslier, G.: *Troisièmes Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*, pp. 159-206.

It would be somewhat difficult to fairly pick out this or that article in this volume which would be of more interest than others to the average reader in this country, for the Bulletin is full of interest as usual. M. Groslier's article, however, should be particularly mentioned. It consists of two studies. The first deals with "the time occupied in the building of a large Khmer temple (Bantăy Čhmār)." In calculating the time taken the author takes into consideration the question of local and imported labour in application to the work of building from the points of view of civil engineering and architecture. He concludes that the minimum time taken must have been somewhere between 32 and 35 years.

The second study—on the chronology of Khmer monuments—is in a way a consequence of the first. M. Coedès, in determining the date of the Bayon, had relied for the most part upon epigraphy. His conclusions had led one to attribute this temple to Jayavarman VII. and to date from this reign (1181-1211) an impressive number of buildings among which are to be found the largest groups in Cambodia such as Bantăy Čhmār, Práh Khăn of Añkor, Tà Prohm, etc. The author does not think it likely that they could have been accomplished within the thirty years of this reign, and discusses one by one the principal monuments. For the date of Bantăy Čhmār the reign of Yaśovarman II. is suggested instead; and for the Bayon, "Let us suppose provisionally that the Bayon was commenced towards 1170 at the latest, was interrupted in 1177, resumed towards 1181 at the earliest, transformed into a central temple and completed by Jayavarman VII. towards the end of his reign." Several other monuments are discussed at some length."

Tome XXXV, fasc. 2.

Nilakanta Sastri, K. A.: *L'origine de l'alphabet du Champa*, pp. 233-241.Parmentier, H.: *La construction dans l'architecture khmère classique*, pp. 243-311.

Tome XXXVI. fasc. 1, 1936.

Coedès, G.: *Etudes cambodgiennes*, pp. 1-22.

(étude) XXXI, "*A propos du Tchenla d'eau*":

This study of Tchenla of the Water is based upon three inscriptions which have brought to light the existence of two hitherto unknown kings named Çambhuvarman and Nṛpāditya. On account of the southern origin of these inscriptions and their probable date, these kings might be considered as having reigned over the whole or part of Tchenla.

(étude) XXXII, "*La plus ancienne inscription en pali du Cambodge*."

This is placed at the beginning of the XIV century.

Mauger, H.: *L'Asram Mahà Rosèi*, pp. 65-96.

A detailed and systematic study of a Khmer edifice in the province of Takèv. It is in fact a report by the author, who had been in charge of its restoration in 1935. He begins by giving a description of the monument from an architectural, decorative, and constructional standpoint; going on then to make a critical study with reference to the "esprit de l'edifice" and the monument's probable parentage; then a description of its present state in all aspects; finishing up with an essay at an historical reconstruction of facts. The report is a typical example of painstaking scholarship on the part of French archæologists in the French colonial empire of the Far East.

With regard to its parentage, the author says that it "would seem to merit the favour of being classed apart and would appear to be a link in a chain connecting the art of India to that of primitive Cambodia", rather than belong to the ancient Javanese or ancient Khmer types. In conclusion the author is inclined to think that the sanctuary was removed from its original site in the north—in Tchenla—by King Içānavarman who conquered Funan, and set up where it is—in Funan. This, he admits, is a weak hypothesis; but no other seems forthcoming.

Anthropos.

Vol. XXXII, parts 1 & 2, 1937.

Gnana Prakasar, the Rev. S.: *The Dravidian Element in Sinhalese*, pp. 155-170.

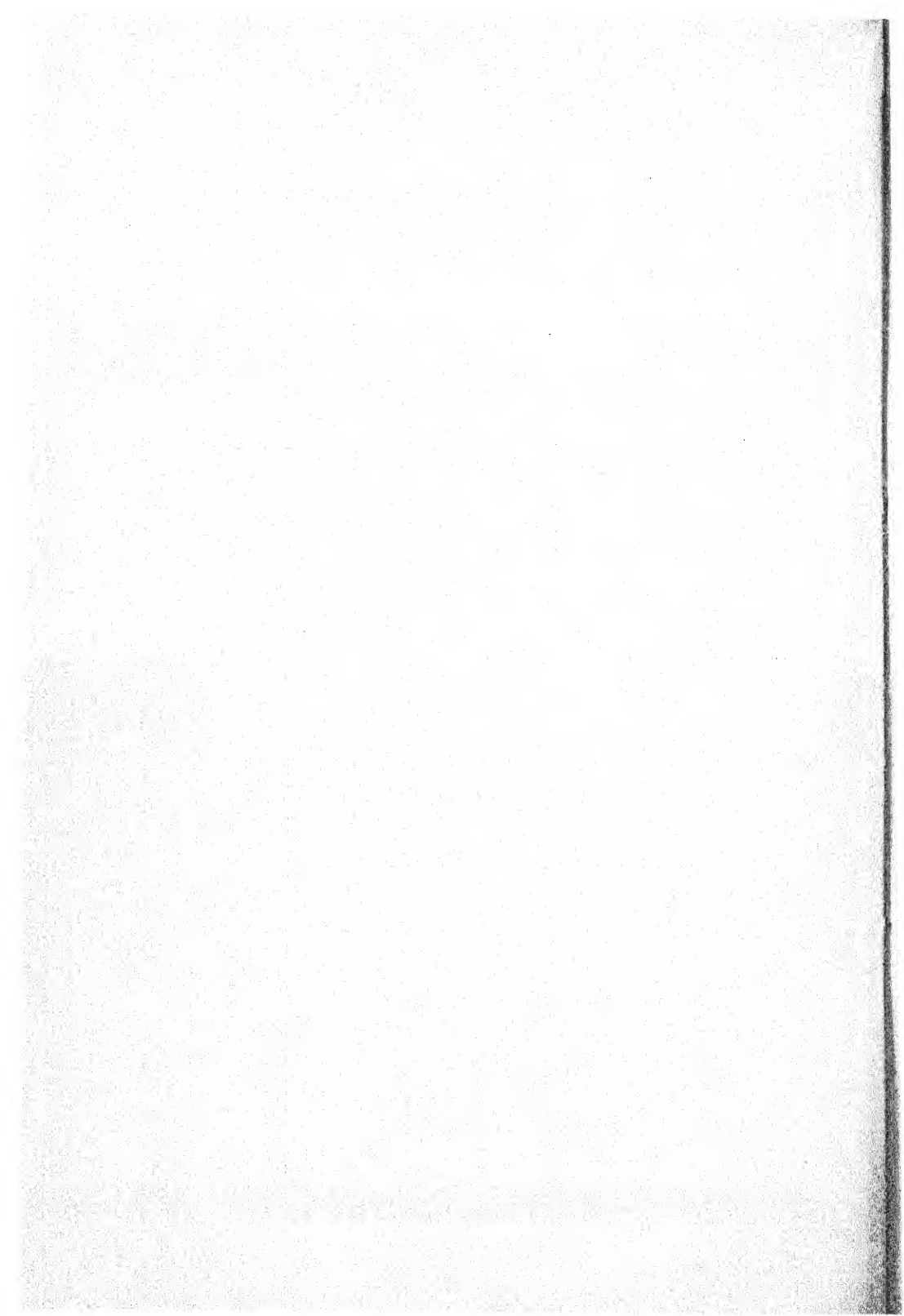
The article enlarges upon the dictum that "While, in regard to its world-equipment, Sinhalese is the child of Pali and Sanskrit, it is, with regard to its physical features and physical structure, essentially the daughter of Tamil"; and perhaps goes further by saying that early Sinhalese is a Dravidian dialect with a large mixture of Ceylonized Prakrit words.

Journal of the Burma Research Society.

Vol. XXVI, part 3, 1936.

Luce, G. H.: *Prayers of Ancient Burma*, pp. 131-138.

A study of old Burmese from ancient inscriptions. It deals more particularly with the philological side.



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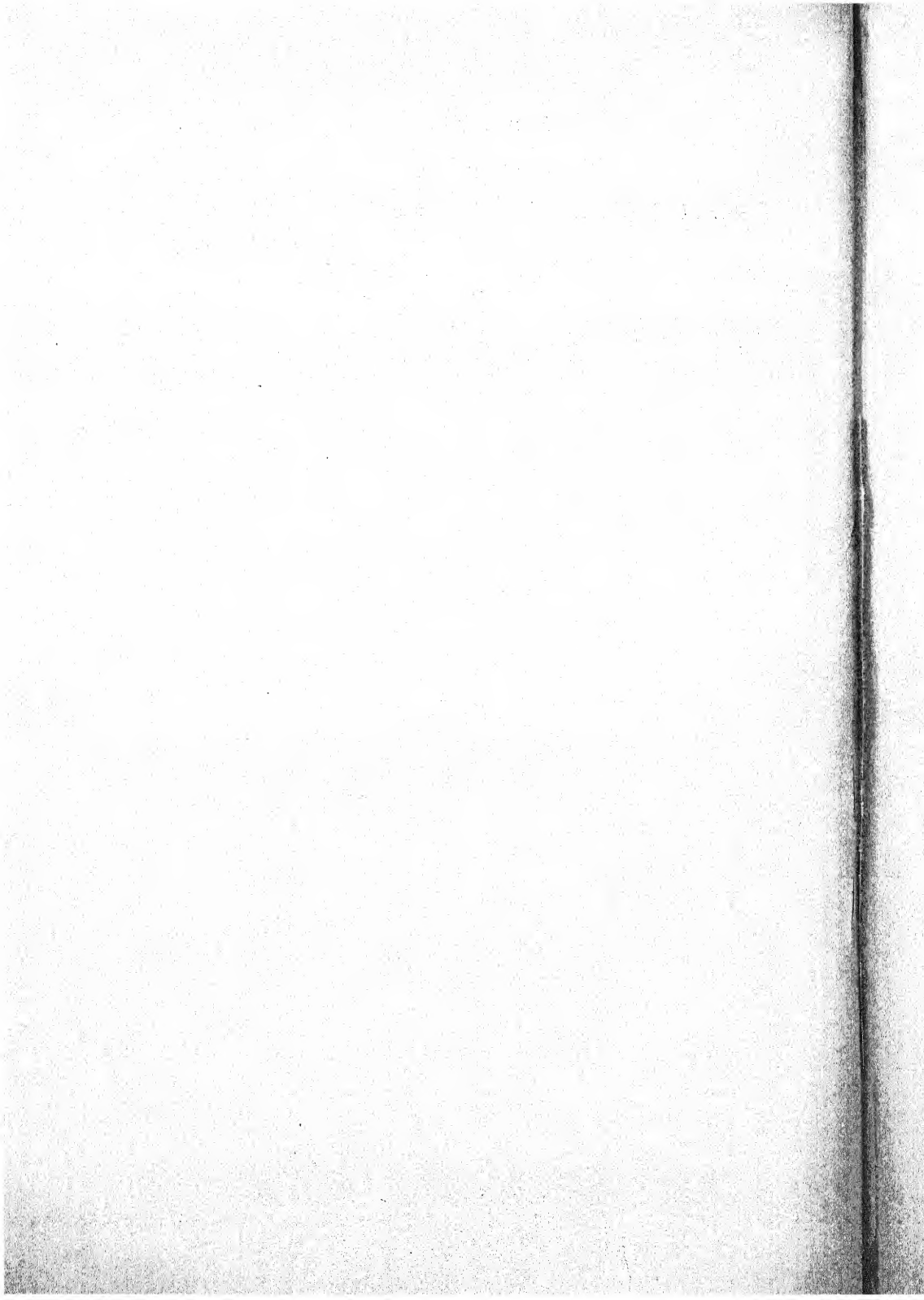
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VAN VLIET'S
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF SIAM.

IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

Printed for H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, and
Translated in 1904 by W. H. Mundie, M. A.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT.

Of the illness and death of Pra-Inter-Va-Tsia-Thiant-Siangh Pheevgk (Phra Inthra Racha Haeng Chang Phuoek), the great and just King of the White Elephant, and of the revolutions which took place in the Kingdom of Siam down to the coming to the throne of Pra Ongly (Phra Ong Lai), who reigns there to-day and who takes the style and title of Pra-Tiavv, Pra Sathovgh (Phra Chao Prasat Thong), Pratiavv Tsangh, Pra-Tiavv Isi angh Ihon-Dengh Pra Thiangh Choboa, that is to say the King of the Golden Throne as also of the red and white Elephant with the twisted tail.

Written in the year 1647

by

IEREMIE VAN VLIET

and dedicated

to

Antoine van Diemen, Governor-General of the State
of the United Provinces of the Netherlands
in the East Indies.

For the elucidation of what I have to say on the subject of the revolutions that took place some time since in the Kingdom of Siam, it would be pertinent, before commencing this account, to give an

exact description of the position of this Kingdom, of the natives in this nation, of their religion, and of the state of their political government. But inasmuch as that has been done by several persons of merit, and as at Batavie in 1638 I myself made a whole treatise on it by order of the late Director Philippe Lucas, I shall content myself with saying that there is a fundamental law in the Kingdom of Siam which calls the brother of the deceased King to the throne, and excludes the son. In defiance of this law the last great and just King of the White Elephant and of the Kingdom of Siam—being moved more by his private affection than by what he owed to the State,—appointed his son to the succession of the Kingdom, in place of his brother, to whom the crown was due.

Some alteration in the health of the King was begun to be remarked upon from the change that was seen in his temper. For while formerly he was good-humoured and agreeable in company, and very good to his subjects and to his servants, his disposition became, towards the end of the year of the rabbits, in the waning of the eleventh moon, unbearably peevish, so that the Mandarins and other grandees of the Court did not dare any longer to approach him in order to speak to him of the important and necessary affairs of his Kingdom. At the beginning of the twelfth and last moon of the year the King fell all at once into a state of exhaustion, and it was very soon evident from the course of his sickness that there was no hope of his recovering. That was why he gave his last thoughts to the preservation of the Crown in his own house, and to the bringing about of the succession of his son, to the exclusion of his brother, the legitimate heir of the Kingdom. For this purpose he sought the advice of *Oya Siworrawongh* (Okya Sriworawong), whose real intention was to usurp the Crown himself, by taking it from this young Prince, who was only 15 years old, and of so bad a character that the Minister did not doubt he would become the aversion of all his subjects. Nevertheless in order to give some appearance of justice to this new succession, opposed as it was to the fundamental laws of the State, the King and his Minister *Oya Siworrawongh* desired to know the feeling of the Mandarins, and had them summoned to an assembly expressly for that purpose. But there was not one of them who dared to speak freely. Some were not explicit, and others said not a word till, finding themselves pressed by the Minister, they said that they believed the Prince to be old enough

to reign and to succeed, and that the King's Brother, having already children, could do in his own house what the King had occasion now to do in his. But the others, and principally *Oya Calahom* (Okya Kalahom), *Oya Kheeu* (Okya Kien), *Opera Taynam* (Okphra Tainam), *Opera Sirsy Anerat* (Okphra Sri Saowarat), *Opera Tiula* (Okphra Chula), and *Oloangh Than Aray-lucq* (Okluang Tham-trai-lok), maintained that the King's Brother had the right of succession, and they had the courage to say that the ancient laws of the Kingdom could not be violated in that manner. The rest referred the matter to the King, saying that both Princes had all the qualities required in a good monarch, and that they would recognise as King the one his Majesty appointed to succeed him.

Following the advice of *Oya Siworrawongh*, the King by his will, without having regard to the laws of the Kingdom, nominated his eldest son heir to the throne, and at the hour of his death commanded *Siworrawongh* to make known his last wish to the Mandarins immediately after his decease, charging him to assist the Prince on his attainment of the Crown, to watch over his actions, and to care for the well-being of the Kingdom. Now during the illness of the King, *Oya Siworrawongh* caused all the approaches to the Palace to be so well guarded that no one could approach without his permission, and there was not a single Mandarin who was able to see his Majesty during that time. All orders and commands were borne to the Council and to the assembly of the Mandarins by the mouth of this one Minister. And in order to mislead the Prince, brother of the King, and the Mandarins who desired the laws of the Kingdom to be adhered to, he caused a rumour to be spread that the King was getting better and that there was more reason for hope than for fear in regard to his illness.

The opposition of some of the Mandarins to the express wish of the King, gave unbrage to his Majesty, and all the more as he had been warned that *Oya Calahom*, General of the elephants and of the infantry of the Kingdom, had taken the side of the Prince, his brother. Accordingly in order to remove all obstacles which might prevent his son succeeding, he desired by means of *Oya Siworrawongh* to secure *Oya Senaphimoc* (Okya Senaphimuk) the General of the Japanese, who are maintained by the Kings of Siam to the number of about six hundred; and this was done, *Senaphimoc* promising to the other and swearing solemnly that he would help to put the King's

son on the throne. In order to give proof of his affection *Senaphimoc* secretly lodged a good number of his Japanese in the Palace and its environs. On the other hand *Oya Calahom*, fearing the recovery of the King much more than his death, on account of the strong opposition he had offered to the succession of the King's son, tried to gain over *Oya Senaphimoc* and his companions in order to advance the brother to the throne by their means. But the Japanese, instructed by *Oya Siworrawongh*, had the cunning to use words which promised nothing really, but which nevertheless did not withdraw all hope from the man who had obliged him to enter on this conference. Moreover, not content with having fortified himself with these Japanese and the ordinary Guards, *Oya Siworrawongh* further had 4,000 men brought secretly into the Palace and caused 10,000 other soldiers to be held in readiness in the neighbourhood of the town. He had it reported that the King wished to make use of them on a journey that he intended to make as soon as he should be completely cured. This *Siworrawongh* did in order to deceive the others.

Oya Siworrawongh had leisure to make all these preparations and to make everything secure before the King died, which he did on the 22nd day of the first moon of the great year of the serpents, to the great regret of his subjects, who had enjoyed a long peace and profound repose during his reign. At the time of his decease he was only thirty-eight years old so that he died in the flower of his age, after having reigned about nine years, almost the whole time in peace. He had had, of several wives, nine sons and eight daughters, most of whom were of tender age at the time of their father's death. Personally he was good and liberal, a student and no warrior, but devoted to his religion, being almost continually busied in reforming the worship of their Gods as well as their ecclesiastical discipline and the laws of the Kingdom. He gave much to the people of the Church and to the poor; he built and repaired the Churches, the pyramids, the Palaces, and the other ornaments of the town—more in fact than any of his predecessors had done. It pleased him to know that his Mandarins were rich, and to see them splendidly dressed, well attended and magnificently housed. He had of his own bounty several houses built for the members of the Household. He loved justice, upright judges and all good men, and he took so great care of his subjects, and even of the foreigners who were to be found in his Kingdom, that he acquired the reputation of a saint, and was so

highly respected by his neighbours that his enemies did not dare to attack him. Thus it is not to be wondered at that he was given the epithets of great and just.

As soon as the King was dead, *Oya Siworrawongh* caused all the Mandarins to come to the Palace. They believed it was the order of the King; for that reason all appeared, not a single one being absent. *Siworrawongh* told them that the King had just died an hour before—though several believed that he had been dead a long time, but that his death had been concealed—and that before dying his Majesty had declared his intention to be that his eldest son should succeed to the Crown and be the heir of the Kingdom, and further that his Majesty had wished him, *Siworrawongh*, to assist his son and advise him in the conduct of affairs. Thereupon the Prince showed himself to the Mandarins on the royal throne, as King and legitimate heir of the crown. This *Siworrawongh* confirmed by the will of the father, thereby obliging the Mandarins to recognise him as King, which they did, some by inclination, and the others through fear of their enemies and of the troops that the Minister had brought into the Palace.

Those who were known to be attached to the late King's brother, or who had not clearly declared themselves when the late King wished to know their feeling in the matter, were at once arrested. They were closely imprisoned, and their houses and goods given over to pillage. Their slaves were taken from them, and at the same time the King had three of his principal prisoners taken from prison and cut in pieces at *Thacham* (Tha Chang), one of the gates of the Palace, as disturbers of the public peace, and as having conspired against the true and legitimate heir of the Crown. Their heads and other members were exposed on various lofty places in the town to serve as a warning to those who might wish to offer opposition to this illegitimate succession. In addition all their property was confiscated, and the King caused it to be distributed among his favourites.

These three lords who were thus executed were among the most wealthy, and the most highly placed in the Kingdom, and in the previous reign had been greatly considered by the people and greatly loved by the King. One was *Oya Calahom*, General of the elephants, who was one of the six leading Mandarins and one of the richest men in the Kingdom, possessing as he did more than 2,000 slaves, 200 elephants and a number of very beautiful horses. The second was

Opera Taynam, General of the Cavalry, who had been *Oya Bergkelang* (Okya Phra Khlang) previously for five years and two months on end, and in that position had amassed great wealth. The late King had honoured him with his special favour, because of his virtues and his eloquence. The third was *Oloangh Thamtraylocq* (Okluang Tham-trai-lok) who had been governor of *Tanassary*, and who was a noble of great age and held in high esteem among them. It was solely the hatred of *Oya Siworrawongh* which brought about the death of these nobles, and they suffered death with the greater patience since they knew that they had not merited it.

There were also taken from prison and led to the gate of the Palace two other nobles, to wit *Opera Seray Anerat* (Okphra Sri Saowarat) and *Opera Tjulo* (Okphra Chula), bound and pinioned, the intention being to put them to death. But *Oya Senaphimoc*, General of the Japanese, saved their lives by embracing them and covering them with his body, in such a way that the blows of the executioner could not reach them without killing him, and by sending at the same time to *Oya Siworrawongh* to ask that they should be pardoned. This powerful intercession, joined to that of the ecclesiastics of the country, saved their lives, but they were deprived of their offices, their property and their titles, and even of their liberty, since they were confined in a close prison all the time till after the revolution of the administration, when some were executed, others exiled, and others set at liberty. Those who had not expressed themselves quite explicitly on the matter of the succession, who had spoken ambiguously, and who had referred it to the King to appoint whomever he should please to the throne, were put in prison and their property was confiscated, till the King took pity on them and had them released.

The day after the death of the King, his son and successor caused all the Mandarins and vassals and slaves of the King to come to the Palace, and obliged them to do him homage and to take the oath of fidelity by drinking the water of allegiance, which their Brahmins or priests had expressly consecrated for that purpose. And then he took the name and style of *Pra Ongk Thit Terrastia* (Phra Ong Chetthathirat). Thus it might be said that with but little effusion of blood, and without manifest opposition, he succeeded to the Crown, contrary to the regular order, and contrary to the laws of the Kingdom. The very day of his accession to the throne he caused to

be put at liberty and recalled to his presence several nobles who had been imprisoned, or exiled, by the King his father, as also several criminals who were in irons. This brought him a certain reputation at the very commencement of his reign.

The young King having thus been crowned, and confirmed on the throne, *Oya Siworrawongh* advised him to dispose of the vacant offices of the nobles that had been executed, in favour of persons whose worth was recognised and who were held in esteem by the people. He desired also that the King should show his bounty towards those of the Mandarins who had some special merit, or who had given evidence of their affection for his interests, in order to bestow on them the wherewithal to enable them to appear in accordance with their rank. But he wished above all that the King should examine carefully the temper, the inclinations, the qualities, the life and the past actions of him whom he should honour with the appointment of *Oya Calahom*, because of its importance and of the power that is entrusted to him who holds the office. For while unfaithfulness on the part of Ministers is to be feared in all the appointments, it was extremely dangerous in this case, as on this Minister the whole Army depends. He made it sufficiently plain that although the appointment which he then had was much more advantageous to him in every way, he would not refuse to be prevailed upon to accept the lesser rank for the sake of the greater security of the person of the King and for the preservation of the Kingdom. The King approved this advice, and at once gave the confiscated property of those who had been executed, banished or disgraced to nobles whom *Siworrawongh* named to him, and who were more dependent on that noble than on his Majesty. The greater part of the property and the rank and appointment of *Calahom* the King gave to this Minister, and the appointment of *Oya Siworrawongh* to the brother of the new *Calahom*. He having by this means become head of the Army, and his brother Minister of the King's household and chief of the Council, they easily persuaded the King that he had nothing more to fear after having put these two important posts in the hands of these two brothers.

There seemed then to be wanting to both only the repose of spirit that they could not find save in the death of the Prince, the King's uncle, who gave them umbrage by his refusal to come to Court though he had been summoned several times. This rendered *Oya Calahom* uneasy, and by offers and presents he obliged *Oya Sena-*

phimoc to promise and swear to him that he would bring the Prince to Court in secular dress; since in that of an ecclesiastic no one would have dared to lay hands on him. To do what he had promised *Oya Senaphimoc* found the Prince and, pretending to share in his affliction at seeing himself thus deprived of the Crown after the death of the King, his brother, declaimed loudly against the execution, the banishment and the imprisonment of so many persons of quality and Mandarins. Enlarging further on the severity, bad conduct and cruel government of the King, and on the too great authority and power of the *Oya Calahom*, he protested to the Prince that he himself and several other Mandarins were so distressed about it that they had often deliberated among themselves as to the means they could take to kill the King as well as his *Oya Calahom*, and to raise his Highness to the throne. He added that if the Prince could be prevailed upon to go with him to the Court, he would use his Japanese soldiers and his friends to deprive the King of the Crown, to expel him and his favourite and to open to his Highness the way to the succession to the throne. Although he had been strongly advised not to do so, the Prince too readily trusted the words of *Oya Senaphimoc*. He set out and went with this traitor straight to the royal Palace and, seeing the Japanese guards at the gate, he made the more sure of the affection of *Senaphimoc*. But that disloyal man, starting to carry out what he had promised to *Oya Calahom*, told the Prince that those friends whom he would find in the Palace being armed and waiting only the arrival of the Prince in order to begin to act, it was necessary that his Highness should put himself in the same state as they, and that he should quit his ecclesiastical robe, which henceforth would be of no use to him, in order to show himself a man of heart and action. The Prince made no scruple to follow this advice, and so throwing aside his robe he appeared as a Prince. But scarcely had he entered the Palace in this state, with *Oya Senaphimoc* and with some Japanese soldiers, than he was seized and bound, and in this condition was conducted before the King. *Oya Calahom*, imagining that he had no more enemies to fear now that he had in his hands the only one who could serve as a pretext for rebellions and disorders, the only one who could put himself at the head of the discontented, thanked *Oya Senaphimoc* very heartily for this important service and made him very considerable presents. The poor Prince was at once condemned to death; but the King not wishing to steep his

hands in his blood, the Council judged it well to send him to *Pipry* (Phetburi), where they put him in a very deep and dry well, the intention being to make him die of hunger by diminishing every day his victuals little by little. They established good order for the guard of the pit, and appointed commissioners, who visited the Prince three times a day in order to make their report, and principally to be witnesses of the end of his life.

Almost at the same time as the Prince was thus condemned and sent to his death, one of his near relatives, named *Oloangh Mancough* (Okluang Mongkhoh) left the Court and withdrew with his brother secretly to *Pipry*. There he represented to the ecclesiastics the injustice of the sentence passed on the Prince and begged them to assist him in the design that he had of taking his Highness from the hands of his executioners. But the ecclesiastics fearing the indignation of the King, and seeing that there was little chance of delivering the Prince because of the number of the guards and soldiers who were conducting him to his execution, did not wish to take the matter in hand openly. Nevertheless they bore such love to this Prince because he had always worn the ecclesiastical robe in order to give the Court no reason for jealousy of him as the presumptive heir of the crown, and in order to preserve his own life, and because he had constantly frequented the churches, shown much devotion and manifested great respect to their ecclesiastics, that they did assist *Oloangh Mancough*, his brother, and his slaves, to make another well, from which a passage was made under ground, like a mine, to the one where the Prince had been put. Carried away with affection and zeal for the liberty of the Prince, *Oloangh Mancough*, finding himself one night alone in the mine, advanced the work so well that he heard his Highness sigh deeply and say, 'Alas! if they would but give me a single glass of water before my end, which is fast approaching.' This obliged *Oloangh* to go with all diligence to assure his friends that the Prince was still alive. The result was that after having deliberated some time together on the existing state of affairs, which admitted of no delay, it was resolved, on the advice of the ecclesiastics, that *Oloangh Mancough* should strangle one of his slaves with his own hands and that the body should be carried through the mine into the other well to be put in place of the Prince, whom they should strip of his clothes in order to dress the slave. This having been done, the guards who had seen the

Prince the evening before in a very bad state, at the last extremity in fact, did not doubt that it was the Prince when they saw next morning a dead body at the bottom of the well. Accordingly after having filled up the well, without having touched the body, and without having paid it the last honours, they went off and carried to the Court the certain news of the death of his Highness. This news caused there so universal a joy that the King and his Minister imagined there was no longer anything which could trouble the repose of the Kingdom, and flung themselves into a strange security.

However the ecclesiastics took so great care of the Prince that in a short time he recovered his former health and strength. All his partisans and even a section of the people were so delighted that several of them quitted their ecclesiastical robes in order to take up arms, and they let several Mandarins and some other persons of quality know how the Prince had been delivered from the pit as by a miracle, and how he was in life and in complete freedom. The Prince would have liked it better if they had kept the matter secret till the severe and tyrannical government of the King had resulted in rendering him odious to the nobility and to the people, as this would have strengthened his party, which for the moment was esteemed by reason of the person of *Oloangh Manecough*, principally. But those gentlemen who love to meddle in affairs of state and who settle them by maxims, would have it otherwise. The rumour as to the safety and the liberty of the Prince, attracted a large number of nobles to *Pipry* while *Oloangh Manecough*, who was highly esteemed by the whole kingdom of *Siam* because of his strength of body and of his courage, went in person to the neighbouring towns and sent express messengers to his friends, in order to try to strengthen the party. And in fact he had credit enough to form an army corps of 20,000 men, commanded by several nobles of rank. The Prince, finding himself in this condition and having been assured of the town of *Pipry*, had himself proclaimed King of *Siam* and crowned. He distributed among those of his party all the offices of the Court, and all the dignities of the Kingdom. He gave the post of Generalissimo to *Oloangh Manecough*, as much because it was he principally to whom he owed his life, as because he was of the blood royal, or because he had the reputation of being one of the most valiant men in all *Siam*, or because, besides, his body was so charmed that no point of steel, of lead or of tin could cut his skin, and no arm of man

could wound him. In a short time the Prince saw himself master of several towns, with much likelihood of becoming master of the whole Kingdom; but the superior Power had disposed of the matter otherwise.

For on learning of the Prince his uncle being alive and at liberty, of his proclamation and of the rising of several towns, the King at once caused all the passes and roads to be occupied, by which the army of his Highness could be increased, and at the same time he sent an army of 15,000 or 20,000 men and of 700 or 800 Japanese to *Pipry* under the command of *Oya Capheim* (Okya Kamhaen) General of the Army, and of *Oya Senaphimoc*, Colonel of the Japanese. On their arriving near *Pipry* they found the affairs of the enemy in such good condition that at first they did not dare to attack, but sent to the King for reinforcements. The two armies engaged, however, in frequent skirmishes, that decided nothing. Meantime, following the moves and the advice of *Oya Calahom*, *Oya Senaphimoc*, Colonel of the Japanese was managing to bring about a private understanding with the General of the Prince's army, with the consent of *Oya Capheim*. He had the General told that his design was to pass with his Japanese to the side of the Prince and to join the troops of His Highness. For that purpose, after several conferences, they came to an agreement that on a certain day, which they fixed on, they should on both sides take the field with their troops as for the purpose of giving battle, but that they should charge without bullets in order not to wound or kill any one, and that *Oya Senaphimoc*, as being forced, should surrender himself and be made a prisoner. This agreement having thus been made with *Oloangh Mancough* and confirmed with the blood of both of them, which they respectively tasted, the Prince and his people did not hesitate to put faith in the compact; but they found themselves again completely deceived. For the two armies having taken the field on the day named and the attack having commenced, the Japanese, powerfully seconded by the Siamese threw themselves on the enemy with such fury that *Oloangh Mancough* was forced to find safety in flight. Moreover the King was continually sending more troops to *Pipry*, with the result that in a few days his army found itself so strong that the Prince, not daring to venture on a second battle, resolved to withdraw to *Ligoor* (Nakhon Sri Thamarat). And that he might be able to retire there in safety, he set out in front with a small suite. But *Oya Capheim*, having

been warned of this by the guard, desired to have him followed with speed, and *Oloangh Mancough*, wishing to prevent this, the two armies engaged in skirmishes, which developed into a set battle, in which *Oloangh Mancough* was defeated, and lost a large number of the greatest nobles and the best soldiers of his army. This victory enabled *Oya Capheim* to have the Prince pursued, and he was taken prisoner before he had reached *Ligoor*.

The Prince, having been taken in this fashion, was led to *Iudin*, (*Ayudhya*) where he was soon condemned to death. This having been announced to him, he instantly asked that before dying he might see the King in order to tell him several things of importance to his service. Permission being granted, he addressed the King practically in these words:—"I stand here in thy presence thy legitimate uncle and the true heir of this Kingdom, and yet, because of the misfortune it has pleased the Gods to send upon me, a vanquished and disgraced Prince, who waits only the hour of death and who cannot escape it. Nevertheless, as a brave man hates not life so long as he can possess it, so he fears not death when it presents itself to him, because death is a door by which one closes the warehouse where all the inconveniences and miseries of life are sold. That is why I shall not give myself much concern about my life, and shall not fear death, although the relationship by which I have the honour to be so closely connected with your Majesty, yields me a very cruel and very bitter fruit. But with all that I prefer being conquered in this fashion to being the conqueror and treating your Majesty as your Majesty treats me. Only I beg you to reflect on the state I find myself in, and to profit by my disgrace. For the best and most important service that one can render to a friend, is to give him faithful advice in his need. If then you wish to acquire a good reputation and to give the same to your government, be not negligent, shun dissoluteness, embrace justice, and know that virtue is an impregnable bulwark, a spring that never dries up, a fire that is never quenched, a load that is no trouble to him who bears it, a treasure that does not grow less, an invincible army, a guide who does not go astray, and a reputation that does not become tarnished. And in order to give a true proof of a sincere and truly royal heart render to the Gods veneration, and to the house of your father the honour that you owe to it. Acquire a good reputation, give joy to your friends, try to gain their affection and then good people will serve you from inclination and

with true zeal, while the wicked will be dispersed of themselves. For it is a great advantage to a King to be able to make himself loved for his goodness and feared for his justice. Finally, I again exhort your Majesty to take warning from my misfortune and to profit by it. For my part I am quite ready to go to meet my doom, where I had not anticipated it, and which I cannot avenge. I should suffer death, too, with joy if I knew that the destruction of my body could strengthen the state of your person and the repose of this kingdom, but I foresee that the same doom as you make me suffer now, will soon overwhelm yourself. If your Majesty wishes to escape the misfortune that threatens you, beware of *Oya Calahom*, for he has been a wicked man and a traitor from his youth up, and as such he was often severely punished by order of the late king. He will worm himself in adroitly, and will take the crown from your head, and will put you to death, both you and all those who are of the blood of the King, my brother, your father, in order to put himself on the throne and to reign."

Those remonstrances made no impression on the mind of the King, nor did they stir him to pity. On the contrary, changing nothing in the resolution that he had already taken, his Majesty commanded them to hasten the execution. Thereupon the Prince was led away to the temple named *Watprahimin Khopirja* (Wat Phramen Khok Phya), opposite the Court. They laid him on a piece of red cloth, and drove a piece of sandal wood into his stomach, a form of execution that is used, in Siam, only in the case of Princes of the blood. They wrapped up the body and the wood in the cloth, and the whole was thrown into a well, where the body was left to decompose. Such was the sad end of this unhappy Prince, who died for having dared to pretend to a crown that was lawfully his by his birth. He was a Prince of great hope, and one who possessed many fine qualities, so that there is no doubt if he had come to the throne he would not have been less esteemed than was the late king his brother.

There was hardly anyone who did not regret this Prince, but no one dared to give any sign of his grief. For as soon as there was recognized in anyone, whatever rank he held, an attachment to or affection for the deceased, that man was put to death and his goods were confiscated. Mandarins and soldiers alike were reduced to slavery and were treated so badly that in a very short time all the friends and all the party of the Prince had disappeared.

Oloangh Mancough, former General of the army of the late Prince, was reduced to despair by the loss of the battle and by the death of his master. Being warned that the King was having him searched for everywhere, he fled from one place to another, and not knowing any longer what refuge to find, he entered by night into the town of *Iudia*, for the purpose of hunting down *Oya Calahom* in his house and killing him. But *Oya Calahom* was by accident detained at the Court that night, and the project was not successful. For that reason, having gone to his own house, he took away his first wife and one of his concubines, and fled with them to *Pra Sop Sarce Gram* (*Pra Sop Sakae Krang*) on the frontiers of the Kingdom of Pegu. There he dwelt for some time, living only on what nature yields gratuitously. At last the place of his retreat was discovered; so that the magistrate of the district, taking the opportunity when *Oloangh Mancough* was out hunting, visited his house and carried away his women. This put him in such a fury that, renouncing all sorts of pleasure and even his life, he went and put himself in the hands of justice and begged to be conducted to *Iudia*. Forewarned of his more than natural strength and of the advantages that he derived from magic, the magistrates caused irons to be put on his feet, his hands, his arms, his neck, and on several other parts. Thereupon *Mancough* began to laugh and to make fun of them, telling them that it was vain to put in irons one who surrendered himself a prisoner voluntarily. "For," he said, "if I had any desire to live it would not be in your power either to take me or to keep me." And saying that he snapped the chains with the same ease as he would have broken tow or rotten hemp. He then went on: "And if I wished to prove my strength and my knowledge, I could cause several of you to lose your lives. But I wish to die; therefore take me in complete liberty to *Iudia*, in order that that tyrant *Oya Calahom* and that murderer of a Prince may satiate themselves with my blood, for which they have long been athirst." The King was very glad to learn that he had arrived at *Iudia* for he loved the man, as much because of his magic as for his courage; and, desiring to save his life, he sent *Oya Calahom* to him in order to prevail upon him, as if of his own impulse, to offer his services to his Majesty, representing to him that, if he took the oath of fidelity to the young King, his life would be saved. But *Oya Calahom* found *Oloangh Mancough* so very obstinate that the only reply he could get out of him was:

"The King, Monseigneur, is no more, and the unlawful King you speak of and you, together, have assassinated the legitimate successor to the throne. For that reason I prefer death to obeying tyrants, murderers, rebels and disturbers of the public peace such as you are. Therefore you need not hope that I shall take the oath of fidelity to those whom I do not recognise as my superiors." *Oya Calahom* having reported the result of his commission to the King, *Oloangh Mancough* was condemned to death, and to be executed with the sword. But before his death he made an address to the people and represented to them the danger in which the Kingdom stood, and foretold a part of the misfortunes that afterwards came upon it. He spoke finally of his own courage and of the knowledge that he had from magic, adding that if there was any one who could still doubt what he said on this subject, he would give proofs in their presence. And in fact when he had put himself in a posture to receive the last blow, the executioner was not able to make an incision in his body, although the violence of the blow was so great that the blade of the scimitar was bent by it, and every time that he struck, the blow sounded as if it had been struck on an anvil. After that *Mancough* rose, snapped the cord which he was bound, seized the executioner and strangled him. That done he asked for water, over which he pronounced some words, drank some of it, poured some of it on his body, dipped the finger of his right hand in it and made a mark on his left side, below the-ribs, because it is there that the blow is struck when in the Kingdom of Siam anyone is condemned to die by the sword, so that the bowels may come out as quickly as possible. After that *Mancough* lay down and ordered the other executioner, who had been brought, to strike him on the place marked, threatening him that if he missed he (*Mancough*) would not fail to stretch him by the side of his comrade. The executioner struck his blow, but the fear of missing made him err so that the blow was not mortal. *Oloangh Mancough* uttered a loud cry and commanded them to strike him a blow in the heart or he would strangle this executioner too. Such was the end of this terrible man, who kept the King and all the Court in such fear that after his death the King and *Calahom* said openly that with the death of *Oloangh Mancough* the Prince and his party were lost and ruined, but that while he lived the resentment and vengeance of the Prince lived still.

The King, seeing himself delivered from this formidable enemy, abandoned himself to all kinds of dissoluteness and debauchery, rendering himself, moreover, insupportable to the Mandarins by his pride and odious to the people by his cruelty, having none of the good qualities of the late King his father. Besides, one expected nothing from him but what was cruel and severe, because everything he did and all his amusements were so. For his only pleasures were in seeing elephants fight, in riding on horseback and in fencing; his utterance was harsh and his face of a fixed severity, so much so as to quite alienate the affection of the people about him, though no one dared to show his discontent. Besides he troubled himself so little about the administration of his kingdom that, trusting himself entirely to the guidance of *Oya Calahom*, he knew nothing of the cabals that the Mandarins were forming among themselves, being unable to imagine that there were any persons who would dare to drive him from his throne or to attempt to usurp his crown. Making the most of this opportunity, *Oya Calahom* used to complain every day in the council of the Mandarins of the bad disposition of the King, of his dissoluteness and debauchery, and even of his tyranny. He represented to them that he found himself charged with all the affairs of the Kingdom, which occasioned him much trouble; and nevertheless that he had so much respect for the last commands of the late King and for the duties laid upon him by his birth, as well as by that of his charge, that he would continue to labour with all his might for the preservation of the reputation of the King and for the repose of the Kingdom. These discourses, his way of acting, and the good will that *Oya Calahom* showed to everyone, caused him to have little difficulty in gaining the affection of the people and in making himself loved by the Mandarins. The result was that he made himself of such importance, that being, as it were, the master of affairs, there was no one who would not seek his favour and buy it, even, by means of presents; and on fête days or days of ceremonies, he found himself better accompanied and followed than the King himself.

But in order that there may be nothing wanting in this account for the complete understanding of what we shall have to say hereafter, it will not be out of place to speak here, in passing, of the person of *Oya Calahom*, of his birth and his life and of the many revolutions it was exposed to in the dissoluteness of his youth. *Calahom*

hom's father was the eldest and legitimate brother of the mother of the Great King, and was called *Oya Sidarma Thyra* (Okya Sri Thamathirat). He had a royal title, but he had no office or share in the affairs of the Kingdom, which did not prevent him from making himself loved because of his good disposition and the kindliness of his conversation. The King last dead considered him, too, as his uncle, and conferred many favours upon him; but he had him also often put in prison for the crimes and evil deeds of his son. *Calahom* was brought up from his earliest youth at the Court and was at first a Mahat or Page of the Great King, and at the age of thirteen he was made Governor of the other Pages. From that time he gave evidence of having spirit and courage, but he led a very bad life, amusing himself by getting drunk and committing theft. The consequence was that he was often taken by the provost along with other sharpers who were robbing by night. This obliged the King to chastise him often, by giving him with his own hand several blows with his broad-sword on the head, and by having him thrown into very disagreeable prisons; but from these he always came out and was received into favour again through the intercession of his aunt, the mother of the King. At the age of 16 he was made *Pramonsy Saropha* (Phra Mūn Sri Sorarak), or Captain of the Pages; but in this office he did not do better than he had done before, and at the age of 18 he committed a crime which merited death, and which in fact just missed causing him to lose his life. Here is the story of the affair.

There is an ancient custom in the Kingdom of Siam, established for several centuries, that when the paddy is cut and stored away, and the earth has been cleaned of insects and other foulness by the fire that is put to the stubble, and before the plough is put in the Earth to till it, the King goes out to the country in great state and with a large suite in order to deliver the Earth from the bad spirits, that the grain and the rice may not be interfered with. If the King missed this ceremony, the Earth produced nothing, and if he conducted the ceremony he did not live for more than three years after. The mathematicians and the soothsayers, who are held in great repute in this part of the world, having been heard on this subject, said that they had seen in the course of the stars that if the King did not change this custom and give the charge of it to some of the Mandarins, the royal family would soon be extinct. Accordingly the commission

was given to that one of the Lords of the Court who had the position of grand purveyor of the Kingdom; but he was not able to carry out the ceremony, being prevented by a sudden death. Having been consulted on this accident the soothsayers replied that the stars threatened with a similar misfortune all his successors, and in order to prevent this it would be necessary to give this appointment to a person of lowly rank. The reason they gave was that the devils were becoming too proud because too much honour was done them, and the gods were annoyed at the Kings and the grand purveyors of the Kingdom lowering themselves too much by personally taking part in this driving out of the devils. On receiving this opinion the King and his council thought it well, with the consent even of the mathematicians and the ecclesiastics, to make use for this purpose of a particular person who, under the rank of *Oya Khaww*, (Okya Kaeo) would conduct the whole ceremony. This *Oya Khaww*, having been chosen for this, was sent to remain alone in a place some distance away from the town, and did not leave his house and the compound surrounding it, till the day appointed for the purification of the country. Then he went to the Court and presented himself to the King who had him re-clothed in royal robes and made him put a royal crown, made in the shape of a pyramid, on his head. He was then placed in a small house, made also in the shape of a pyramid, and eight men bore him on their shoulders into the street and from there, accompanied by a large suite of all sorts of persons and with musical instruments, to the country. Everybody, even the Mandarins and the other courtiers, renders him the same honour as they would render to the King if he were there in person. He has no other revenue but that which he draws from the fines that are paid to him by those whom he meets on his way, those who do not close their doors when he passes, or who have their shops or stalls in the open street, as he has the right of causing these to be looted unless they pay compensation instead. The effect of this corvée is that he can amass about three catties, money of the country, equivalent to a little more than 40 pistoles. As soon as he has left the Court, he has for that day the same power and the same authority as the King, and for that reason, moreover, the King himself does not leave his palace, and does not let himself be seen by anyone. This Paddy King having arrived at the place where he has to conduct the ceremonies, it is permitted to every one to attack and do

battle with his people and those of his suite, provided that they do not touch his person or his guards; and if the Paddy King emerges victorious from this combat of his people, the Siamese promise themselves a great abundance of rice for that year; and if on the contrary he is forced to take to flight, they take that as a very evil omen and are afraid that the devils will destroy the fruits of the Earth. These ridiculous skirmishes finish, very often, in serious combats which cost some people their life. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the mock King returns in the evening to the Court, where he lays aside the crown and the other royal ornaments, and goes away thence into his ordinary retirement, where he fares well or ill for the whole year according to the fortune he has had that day, and according to the fines that have been paid to him. Now *Oya Calahom*, who was still only *Pramonsy Saropha* and about 18 years old, found himself in the country one day when this ceremony was to be performed. He was accompanied by his brother, who is to-day *Feyna* (Fai-na) or Prince, and both were mounted on elephants and accompanied by their slaves. And he attacked this Paddy King with such fury that it seemed as if he wished to kill him together with all the persons of his suite. The guards, setting themselves to defend the mock King, charged these two young lords and threw stones at them; and his brother being wounded by a stone, *Pramonsy* drew his sword and threw himself so furiously upon them that the Paddy King and his guards were forced to take to flight. The Paddy King returned to the Court and complained to the King of the violence that had been done him by *Pramonsy*; and His Majesty was put in such a rage, by the account of what this debauchee had done, that he gave orders that *Pramonsy* be at once sought for and brought to Court. But the rascal, who knew very well what they wished to him, and not daring to present himself before the King during the first transports of his anger, had hidden himself in a sanctuary among their priests. And the King, being unable to overcome his first feeling of resentment, made *Oya Sidarma* (Okya Sri Thama Thirat), father of *Pramonsy*, feel the effects of it, threatening to put him to death if he did not produce his son. On learning this *Pramonsy* left his retreat, came and presented himself to the King and asked his pardon. But having caused him to be seized by the pages, the King gave him himself three cuts on each leg from the knees to the ankle; he then had him thrown into a dungeon and caused irons to be put on

five parts of his body. There *Pramonsy* remained for five months till *Zian Croa Mady Tjan* (Chao Khlua Mani Chan), widow of the late King, who was called *Pra Marit* (Phra Naresuan), or the Black King, made his peace and had him restored to favour. *Pramonsy* could not forget this bad treatment, though he had well deserved it, and from that time he thirsted for vengeance, desiring to wreak it principally on *Phra Onthong* (Phra Ong Thong) and *Phra Sysingh* (Phra Sri Sin), brothers of the King, and loved by him above the rest. To carry out this diabolical purpose he asked four of his comrades to dinner in his house, to wit *Oloangh Pibon* (Okluang Phibun), who was *Oya Carassima* (Okya Nakhon Ratsima) and has since died while still quite young; *Choen Choenpra* (Chong Chai-phak), who is at present *Opra Tiula* (Okphra Chula); *Eptiongh Omongh* (Aphai Ronarong), who is now *Oya Poucelouck* (Okya Phitsanulok); and *Tiongh Maytiau Wangh* (Changmai Changwang) who has now the rank of *Oya Berckelung*. After he had entertained them well, and when the spirit had warmed their brains, he unfolded to them the design he had of avenging himself on the Princes for the affront that he pretended had been put upon him by the King for his last crime. Thereupon, taking a solemn oath to each other, with the usual ceremonies by tasting each other's blood, these four lords promised to support him; and to that end it was deemed advisable to break into the quarter where the Princes lived, to enter their apartments and to kill them. But, the conspiracy having been betrayed four or five days after it was formed, by one of the slaves of *Pramonsy*, the King sent for him and asked him why he had conceived so detestable a plot against his (the King's) brothers. *Pramonsy* denied it, taking horrible oaths to that effect; but the King, who was only too well assured of the truth of the charge, got in so great a rage that he was going to kill him with a Japanese cutlass if the sword had not been caught by a ribbon, which prevented the blow from falling. *Pramonsy* sought to save himself, but the King had him arrested, and gave him with his own hand some cuts on the shoulders and on the back. Then he had him thrown with his accomplices and their slaves into dungeons, among the robbers and murderers. His Majesty also had *Oya Sidarma*, father of *Pramonsy*, imprisoned; but his innocence was established and he was set at liberty again. Some years after, the King had two powerful armies raised for the purpose of making war in Cambodia to recall that country to its allegiance.

Pramonsy seizing this opportunity had *Oya Ombrat* (Okya Uparaj) beseeched to intercede for him with His Majesty, in order that being freed from prison he might be able to expiate his crime by the brave actions that he promised to perform in the war. *Oya Ombrat* is the chief of all the nobility of the Kingdom, and was to command the sea force conjointly with *Oya Berckelangh*, because the King wished to command the land army in person. Touched by the prayers of these Nobles, His Majesty put *Pramonsy* at liberty together with his accomplices, after they had been in prison for more than three years, and sent them by sea to Cambodia. And in truth, though this enterprise was not the success they had promised themselves, *Pramonsy* did so well there that on the recommendation of the generals he was once more taken into the good graces of the King, who made him return to the Court and honoured him with the rank of *Sompan Meon* (Phan Ngoen). But for all that *Pramonsy* did not change his way of life, for he debauched the wives and concubines of the Prince, the King's brother, who complained bitterly about his conduct. The King got in such a rage that he wished to have him condemned to death, and commuted the punishment into one of imprisonment for life only in answer to the prayers of the Queen mother and of *Oya Sidarma* his father. *Pramonsy* remained for another three years in this prison; but he was so mortified by it that from that time his conduct was very reasonable, and he even gave evidence of so much spirit and address in all his actions that the King gave him the rank of *Oya Siworrawongh*, and made him Superintendent of the Royal Household. We have already said that during the last years of the reign of this King, he alone possessed all the favour of the King and was his Majesty's sole confidante during his last illness, when he arranged things in such a way by evil design that at the commencement of the new reign he was made *Oya Calahom*, a dignity which served him as a stepping stone to mount to the rank of royalty by seizing the kingdom from his sovereign and by extirpating almost the whole royal House.

We have related also how, when he had been made *Oya Calahom*, he found means to make away with the most powerful, the richest and the most considered of the Mandarins, having some of them put to death and others exiled or imprisoned, after having rendered them odious to the King as partisans of the Prince, his uncle. Their positions were filled with creatures of *Oya Calahom*, and the confiscated

property of those executed and of those disgraced was given to his favourites, whom he meant to make use of on the occasions which soon offered, as we are going to see. The entire disposition of the affairs of state, which the King left to him, gave him also the means of making friends, while his authority made him respected. His father had died a short time before the death of the King; and his younger brother having died some time after, *Oya Calahom*, in arranging his funeral, caused the bones of his father, whose body had already been burned in accordance with the Siamese custom, to be also brought and had them burned over again. This is an honour which is paid only to the King, or to the Prince who, when Princes of the blood fail, succeeds, either by force or by election,—he can have the bones of his father or of his relatives dug up and burned with royal ceremonies. The Mandarins and the other great nobles, in order to do honour to *Oya Calahom*, attended in large numbers at the funeral of his brother and of the bones of his father. He caused the ceremonies to last for three days, contrary to the custom of Siam, and they were carried out with such magnificence that never had Mandarin done the like. The Queen, mother of the King, who had already taken umbrage at *Oya Calahom's* having conferred the first positions in the Kingdom on his own creatures and partisans, seized this opportunity to render him an object of suspicion and dislike to the King, her son. Acting in concert with the enemies of *Oya Calahom* she gave such a bad appearance to all his actions that the King was without difficulty led to regard them with suspicion and to resolve to rid himself of this favourite since he could not help being convinced that the authority of the Minister put his own in the shade. His resolution was soon taken, but he executed it with so much imprudence and precipitation that, following the hastiness of his mother, he drew on his own head the misfortune with which he threatened the other. Seating himself, then, on his throne, the third day of the funeral of *Oya Calahom's* brother, he demanded with much indignation what had become of all the Mandarins, and why they did not come to Court as usual and appear in their ordinary places at the audience in his presence. *Oya Berckelangh*, a partisan and creature of *Oya Calahom*, who had continued to go to the Court in order to observe the humour of the King and to see what he was going to do, replied that *Oya Calahom* was occupied in burning the body of his brother and the bones of his

father, and that the Mandarins had been invited to be present at the funeral ceremonies. Thereupon the King, foolishly giving way to anger, retorted, "I thought that the Kingdom of Siam had only one King, and I imagined myself to be the legitimate and solemnly crowned King, to whom alone all the inhabitants of the Kingdom, of whatever rank they might be, owed honour, respect and obedience. But I see that I have only the name and that *Calahom* is King in fact, since all the Mandarins renounce the service that they owe me, abandon me, and attach themselves to *Calahom*. But I shall take good measures. When *Calahom* shall have come to Court with his accomplices, I shall treat them in accordance with their deserts, *Calahom* in particular. I shall assuredly prevent his having so large a retinue in future or his having the honours rendered to his body, which he has caused to be rendered to his father and his brother." *Oya Berckelagh* desired to excuse *Oya Calahom*, and to represent to the King, with every mark of respect and submission, what obliged *Calahom* to act thus. But the King, considering him one of the accomplices of *Calahom*, treated him badly and threatened to put him to death. Then he caused his guards and soldiers to be put under arms and withdrew in a great rage, which prevented him from reflecting that *Calahom* would not fail to form a strong party with his friends as soon as he knew the threats that the King had uttered.

Oya Berckelagh, having happily escaped from this scrape, left the Court and hastened to find *Oya Calahom* to whom he related everything he had heard from the mouth of the King, and the threats, the result of which he and all his friends had reason to fear. *Oya Calahom* gave evidence of being greatly astonished, and began to sigh and to bewail himself in such a way that the Mandarins, who were present in large numbers near him, pressed him to tell them the reason of the great change that they saw in him. He then related to them with much eloquence everything of which *Oya Berckelagh* had just informed him, and the purpose that the King had against them all, adding that he was ready to die if his blood was capable of extinguishing the fire of the King's wrath, and of reconciling him towards them all. "But, since the King threatens to have me put to death, me who have been his favourite, whom he has so tenderly loved, and who am the Chief of his Council, what misfortune ought not you others to fear? And how will you save yourselves from the hands of this tyrant? And who is there who

will prevent him from carrying out his evil designs? And consider, I pray you, what will be the state of this Kingdom after they shall have caused us all to perish. For you know the age of the King, you know his bad natural disposition, his humour, his inclinations, his debauchery and his cruelty better than I do. And if such is his character at this moment, what will he be when he has put to death the greater part of the Mandarins and when he will be no longer assisted by this wise Council which finds itself around him at present? It is impossible to doubt that when such a state of things takes place the Kingdom will be engaged in a civil war, and perhaps in a foreign one at the same time: and that can only end in the complete desolation of the State, causing us to fall under the domination of our neighbours."

This discourse, which *Oya Calahom* accompanied with tears, lamentations, and mournful accents, so moved the Mandarins that they at once bound themselves in friendship and interest with him, and made a league among themselves, confirmed by the solemn oath marked by drinking the blood of one another. Thereby they bound themselves not to suffer the King to seize anyone of them, and to join with their brethren to oppose what the King might wish to undertake against them.

Still, in order to assure themselves of the intention of the King, and to know if it was through rage and passion that he had made those threats, or if it was a firm resolution taken against *Oya Calahom* and against the other Mandarins, it was thought well that *Oya Berckelangh*—who is a resolute and eloquent man brought up from his youth at the Court, where he was Captain of the Pages of the late King—should go and see the King, sound his intentions, and try to obtain from him pardon for *Calahom* and for his friends. On his arrival at the Court, *Berckelangh* had the boldness to tell the King the object that had brought him, and sought to persuade his Majesty that he was badly informed as to the intentions and actions of *Oya Calahom* and the other Mandarins. But he found the anger of the King so much strengthened that he forbade *Berckelangh* to speak to him on that subject, and told him he was also among the accomplices of *Calahom*. The King ordered him to leave the Palace and to withdraw to those who like himself had become traitors to their King, and he continued his threats against *Calahom* and his accomplices. Seeing the King in this humour *Berckelangh* was

afraid and left the Palace. He made his report to *Calahom* and to the Mandarins about what he had seen, and he advised them to withdraw, everyone to his own house, in order to arm themselves and then to reassemble at a fixed hour for the purpose of marching straight to the palace, attacking it and rendering themselves masters of it, and taking the King prisoner. The whole assembly having approved this advice, they separated and went home in order to arm their slaves, with the intention of meeting again at the rendezvous at the hour that had been appointed. *Berckelangh*, however, had the boldness to return for the third time to the Palace, ostensibly to reiterate the prayers that he had made to the King for *Calahom*, but in reality to spy out what was being done there, to rid the King of any suspicion he might have of the purpose of the Mandarins, and to warn them of any preparations that might be being made against them if their purpose had been discovered. Now *Oya Capheim* was one of the most powerful nobles in the Kingdom, being greatly respected by reason of his birth, his devotion, and his wealth which was evidenced by his maintaining more than 200 elephants, 2,000 slaves, and a large number of horses. So in view of the fact that he had not attended the funeral rites of *Oya Calahom's* brother and had no part in the conspiracy, and that accordingly there was reason to fear lest he, being in great favour at Court, should seek out the King and join with him against the Mandarins, *Oya Calahom* went and called on him, with his brother *Oya Siworrawongh*, at his (*Oya Capheim's*) house. *Oya Calahom* bewailed bitterly the threats that the King was making against him and against the Mandarins who had innocently attended the ceremonies that the King himself had permitted to be carried out at the funeral of his brother, adding that he was ready to suffer death in any fashion the King might wish to order, but that he was too sensible of the disgrace with which so many great Mandarins were threatened for love of him. He went on to say that this was too cruel, and that this tyrannical resolution of the King could not be averted save by courageously opposing themselves to it, concealing nothing of what the last necessity had constrained them to resolve against the King, since they saw no other means of saving their lives. All this *Calahom* did with so much affection and warmth that, seeing *Oya Capheim* had been touched by it, he and his brother threw themselves at his feet, and reverencing him as their father, begged him

to adopt them as sons, to save their lives, and to protect them against the tyranny of this wicked King. On their side they promised that they would strive to have him put on the throne, and that they would render him perfect obedience as his servants and slaves, since that was the only means of preserving the Kingdom of Siam, which otherwise would perish through the unhappy rashness of the King. *Oya Capheim*, not grasping the design of *Calahom*, made the two brothers rise, embraced them and adopted them. Thereupon they promised fidelity one to the other by drinking one another's blood. Then *Calahom*, having in this fashion made sure of this noble, went home to get his own people armed and found himself in due course at the rendezvous with the other accomplices.

While *Berekelangh* was deceiving the King with prayers for the pardon of *Calahom* or reasons for his justification, *Calahom* had assembled his troops, had strengthened them with his friends, and was then marching straight to the Palace with the elephants, horses, and even with the soldiers of the Kingdom whom he commanded as Captain-General of the Elephants and Cavalry. The King, seeing everybody amazed and not knowing the reason, wished to know from *Berekelangh* the cause of this astonishment, and asked if it was not that *Calahom* was coming to attack the Palace. But *Berekelangh* assured his Majesty of the contrary, and in order to allay all suspicion said to the King that he offered his life as a pledge of the fidelity of *Calahom*. He wished that the King might cause his body to be cut in pieces and left for the beasts to eat, if *Calahom* undertook the slightest thing to the prejudice of the King's authority. This gave the King so great a feeling of safety that he gave no orders at all as to his men putting themselves in a state of defence. *Calahom*, however, attacked the Palace with such fury that the King saw that he had been deceived, and that he was ruined. Then he lost courage altogether, and was so surprised and terrified that he had scarcely the heart to order that the guards put themselves under arms, and that a vigorous resistance be offered to the entering of the gate. Knowing better than anyone what was happening, and seeing himself in peril of his life, *Berekelangh* told the King that he would go himself to see how things were and that he would come and make a report to his Majesty at once. The King, who did not doubt the fidelity of the traitor, allowed him to go. But *Berekelangh*, on leaving the King's apartment, went straight to the great gate of the Palace,

where he knew that *Calahom* was with the other Mandarins, their friends, slaves and Japanese, and caused it to be opened. When he had made the rebels enter he conducted them straight to the place where he had left the King, with the intention of seizing his person. But the King had withdrawn into another part of the Palace as soon as *Berckelangh* had quitted him, so that they failed in their object for that time. The other troops, however, not knowing that the great gate had been opened to *Calahom*, forced the Palace from the other side, and they cut in pieces all whom they met, with the result that a great carnage was made that night, and a horrible shedding of blood. The King did indeed make some resistance with his guards and with the officers of his house, with such effect that in some places the fighting went on till daybreak. But seeing that *Berckelangh* had deceived him, and that there was no longer any hope for him of being able to resist the fury of the Japanese, His Majesty condemned, unfortunately too late, his own imprudence and his too great credulity. Then abandoning the Palace he mounted on an elephant and fled across the river which waters the town, without any suite, taking refuge in the temple of *Monply Meeangh Jongh*, which is above the town, and bears a great reputation for sanctity. There the priests entertained him for some days meanly enough.

Seeing himself master of the Palace at break of day, *Calahom* at once secured for himself the collections of stones and the treasures of the King. Of these he distributed a part to his friends, sending them purses filled with gold and silver, and scimitars with gold handles set with stones. In particular he sent such gifts to those who had given proofs of their valour and of their affection in this affair, with the result that several became rich, and their condition was changed from that of slave to that of nobleman or Mandarin.

Knowing that the King had disappeared, and that he was either dead or had fled, and feeling secure in the promise that *Calahom* had given to make him King, *Oya Capheim* took his seat on the royal throne, caused the royal crown to be put on his head, the royal cushions under his arms, the royal sword by his side, and taking the golden fan in his hand, assumed the rank of King and said to *Calahom*—"My son, Fortune favours us to-day. Come and congratulate him whom you have chosen for father and who has adopted you for his son. Render to me the honour that you owe me as your King, in order that the other Mandarins may follow your example

and render me the honour that is due to me from them, that they may recognise me as their King, and that they may confirm me in the royal power. If you do this, I shall make you Prince and declare you the heir to the Kingdom of Siam." *Calahom* was surprised at seeing *Oya Capheim* in possession of the throne, crowned with the royal crown, and clothed with the royal robes and ornaments, and urging him to recognise him as King; for it had been *Calahom's* own intention to take that place and to cause himself to be declared King. Nevertheless, dissembling his displeasure, he said to *Oya Capheim* that it was not yet the time to take possession of the throne and have himself declared King, because it was not yet known what had become of the King, or whether he was alive or not. Apart from that, he further said, there were still Princes, sons of the late King, one of them 11 years old, and by causing him to be proclaimed King their rising would not be blamed by any one; no one would be able to accuse them of having taken arms in order to usurp the crown of the legitimate heirs. *Oya Capheim* retorted that the throne of Siam was a thing so sacred and so venerable that it was impossible for it to be occupied by so young a Prince; and in order that justice might not fail to be administered it could not remain empty any longer. "For that reason," he went on, "if you do not wish to crown me, or to recognise as King me who am your father, approach and receive this dignity from my hand. I shall put the crown on your head and shall cause you to be proclaimed King." But *Calahom* refused the honour, pretended to be disturbed at seeing the throne occupied by a noble who had intruded himself there without being in any way entitled to do so, and begged him to leave it in order to prevent the scandal and misfortune that might occur, and for the purpose of enabling them to act together for the settlement of affairs and in searching for the fugitive King. The result was that *Oya Capheim*, seeing he would not succeed, quitted the throne and followed *Calahom* where he wished.

So strict a search, however, was made for the King that it was known at last that he had withdrawn to the temple of *Monply Mecangh Jongh*. From there he was taken and brought a prisoner to the Palace, where the Mandarins, having been assembled, declared him unworthy of reigning. This was done on the proposition, which *Calahom* made, chiefly, that having fled from the Palace he had, as it were, abandoned the Kingdom. It was in fact by reason of this flight that he was declared unworthy of reigning or of living.

Seeing that the whole assembly was inclined to put the King to death, *Calahom* opposed it, and pretended to be desirous of preserving his life, allowing himself none the less to be overborne by the majority of voices.

Perceiving that he must die, the King showed signs of neither surprise nor annoyance, but said that he could expect nothing else from his Mandarins, who had become traitors and rebels. He reproached *Berckelangh* with his treason, and all the other Mandarins with their rebellion. He bewailed in particular the bad advice that *Oya Calahom* had given to the King, his father, with regard to the succession to the throne. Then, addressing *Calahom* personally, he said, "You have come into the world in order to be the ruin of this Kingdom, for you put my father to death by poison, and, by your intrigues, you caused the Prince, my uncle, to perish lamentably. Now you are going to shed my royal blood, and I avow that I should die with less regret if the shedding of my blood could end it all, and if the murders with which this Kingdom is threatened were comprehended in my person. But you will be the scourge of this Kingdom and people, and I shall pray the great God of gods to avenge my death and to bring upon your own head the evil that you have done, and that you are yet to do." After that, he begged the Mandarins to consent to save the life of the Queen, his mother, and to allow him to speak with her before he died. *Calahom* justified himself as best he could, and having caused the Queen Mother, *Praongo Marit* (Phra Ong Amararit) by name, to attend in person, he reproached her with much bitterness. He alleged that she was the sole cause of the unjust reproaches that had been brought against him, as well as of so great an effusion of blood, and of the great disorders that were to be seen in the Kingdom; in part, because she had borne so wicked a son; in part, because by her advice she had strengthened him in his wickedness. He further said that she did not deserve to live, but he added that if she liked to deny her son, stifling her maternal affection, and to approve of the sentence of death that had just been passed upon him, they would preserve her life and give her maintenance in accordance with her rank. The Queen showed no emotion at all this, but replied coldly and with prudence:— "The King, sir, finds himself, while still in his youth, at the end of his days, owing to the bad and perverse advice with which you inspired the late King, in order to get

him to change, unhappily, the order of succession established by the laws of the Kingdom. But since your cruelty and your ambition destine him to so unhappy an end, I prefer to die with him rather than receive my sustenance at your bloody hands. The fear of the pains of death will never compel me to deny my son whom I have borne in my body, and whom I have cherished with every care; nor will it ever stifle the maternal affection that nature has implanted in me, were I to suffer as many deaths as my body has members. For if I were so far to forget myself as to deny my son, I should be rendering myself the accomplice of all your cruelties, and you would soon find a reason for having me put to death as a criminal, whereas now I shall die innocent. I have not lived long, but long enough to have felt the miseries, and to have tasted the bitterness of life; wherefore death has no horror for me, since I feel that it will be the beginning of my rest. I have given life to my son: I desire to finish mine with him." After that the King and the Queen, his mother, were conducted to the front of an old, ruined temple named *Walpramincho prue* (Wat Phramen Khok Phya), where the executioners laid them down on a scarlet carpet, and thrust them through the stomach with a sandalwood stake, and threw their bodies into a well, where they are still. On arriving at the place of execution, the King, who had reigned only eight months, bewailed aloud the misfortune of the Queen, his mother, who being innocent, was dying only for love of him. He also recalled the advice that the Prince, his uncle, had given him when he had caused him to be condemned to death and to be executed in that same place and in the same fashion as he was now about to be executed himself. His mother, on the other hand, gave no sign of being moved, and said to her son, that, at least, in this, the last and most important moment of his life, he ought to make it be recognised that he was a King because he was suffering a fate that it was impossible to avoid.

After this execution, *Calahom* put to death all those who had taken the side of the King, and those who had not taken any share in his rebellion, or who had not taken up arms with him. The others were sent into exile or dispossessed of their offices or degraded from their rank. The property of those condemned or disgraced was confiscated and distributed among the friends of *Calahom*. In this way a great change was brought about in the Kingdom of Siam, because several great lords lost their liberty and their wealth, while

several slaves became mandarins and among the most powerful at Court.

The King having been executed in the manner we have just described, the two *Oyas*, *Calahom* and *Berckelungh*, took advantage of the darkness of night, entered a boat alone, without any following of guards or slaves, and went to find *Oya Senaphimoc*, the Colonel of the Japanese, for the purpose of discovering his sentiments with regard to the election of a successor to the Throne. *Calahom* put before him that the Kingdom could not exist without a King; that the great King, father of the one just dead, had left only several small children; that it would be dangerous to entrust the royal dignity to such young princes, and that it would be a pity to see so powerful a Kingdom governed by a child. He begged *Oya Senaphimoc* to consider if it would not be wise, in order to prevent all these inconveniences, to proceed to the election of some one of the most powerful Mandarins who should reign, and who should be crowned provisionally till the prince was in a position to govern in person, the idea being that this Mandarin should then renounce the dignity and replace it in the hands of the legitimate heirs. *Oya Senaphimoc*, discerning *Calahom's* intentions, replied to him that, if it was necessary to proceed to the election of one of the Mandarins, it would inevitably fall on his own person, because, as he was of the blood royal, and the most powerful of all the Mandarins, no one else could be appointed without prejudicing him. "On the other hand, if they did elect you, everyone would have reason to condemn our actions," he said, "and to believe that we took up arms only through partisanship, in order to favour your unjust designs and to cause to fall into your hands a violent and illegitimate dominion. And besides, if we select some one of the other Mandarins, it is to be feared that he will desire to remain master even after the Prince shall have reached years of discretion, and that, in order to secure the crown for his own person and family, he will extirpate the whole royal house."

Further, he said, they must consider that already two Kings had been put to death, that much blood had been shed, and that it was time to put an end to the disorders, and to restore peace to the Kingdom. His advice was that they should crown king the Prince who was the eldest of the brothers of the one last dead, and that they should give the guardianship of his person, and the regency of the kingdom, to him, *Calahom*, who having been first minister under the

last reign, was capable of giving good counsel to the king and of re-adjusting the affairs of the kingdom. He went on to protest that for his part, he would not consent that the crown should be put on the head of a stranger while there were princes of the royal house who could hope for this dignity by the fact of their birth, and that he would oppose such a proposal with all his might. Seeing that he would obtain nothing else, *Oya Calahom* expressed approval of the sentiments and reasons of the Japanese touching the person of the young prince, but declined the position of guardian and regent. Nevertheless, being dependent in some fashion on *Senaphimoc*, and considering that on his refusal the latter would seek for someone else who would not be so unwilling, he went to the royal palace and caused all the Mandarins to be assembled next day. He then represented to them that the Kingdom of Siam could not exist without a King, and that, inasmuch as there were still princes, sons of the great King, and brothers of the one lately dead, and among others the eldest of the three, a Prince of great hope, ten years old or thereabouts, he believed that they could not make a better choice than of his person, and he was of opinion that they must crown him. The whole assembly acquiesced in this, *Oya Senaphimoc* in particular expressing approval. Thereupon the young Prince was crowned, and received the name of *Phraongh Athit Socras Wanh* (Phra Ong Athit Chakrawong). This election was approved of, not only by the nobles, but also by the people, who hoped that by this means affairs would be restored to their former state. *Oya Calahom* was, by the same assembly, unanimously appointed the guardian of the King and regent of the Kingdom, in consideration of the prestige of his birth, he being of the blood royal and a near relative of the King. He refused the position for a long time, and accepted it at last only when the whole assembly entreated and insisted on his taking it.

This resolution, the age of the King, the power that was given him over the Royal person, and the authority that he acquired in establishing himself in the Kingdom by these two important offices of guardian and regent, strengthened *Calahom's* hopes marvellously, and flattered his ambition. But he foresaw clearly that it would be impossible for him to reach to the highest degree of absolute power if he did not with great foresight, and soon, remove two powerful obstacles, to wit, *Oya Capheim* and *Oya Senaphimoc*. He had formally promised the royal dignity to the one, and the

other had quite expressly protested that he would not suffer the throne to be occupied by one of the mandarins while any one of the princes of the royal house was still alive. *Calahom* had indeed some reason for saying that *Oya Capheim* aspired to the royal dignity, since he had taken incontinent possession of it after the flight of the late King, and had gone so far as to urge himself (*Calahom*) to cause him to be recognised as King and to get him crowned. *Oya Calahom* made use of this pretext in order to render him odious, and even criminal, in the eyes of the King,—to ruin him, in fact, in order that his authority and his wealth might no longer be able to prove an obstacle to his own ambitious designs. Accordingly, having disclosed his purpose to *Oya Berckelangh*, they resolved together to accuse *Oya Capheim*, and to let the King know that this Mandarin, having had the audacity to put himself on the throne in the lifetime of the late King, had still ambition enough to oppose himself to the present one, and that the crime he had committed in seeking to get himself proclaimed King could be expiated only by death. For this *Oya Calahom* was to serve as accuser, and *Oya Berckelangh* as witness. Thereupon *Oya Calahom* went and found the King, and said to him that *Oya Capheim* was the sole cause of the flight and death of the late King. He asserted that it was *Oya Capheim* who had incited the Mandarins—several of whom had been constrained by force, by the slaves and by the elephants of *Oya Capheim*—to take up arms; that, after the withdrawal of the King, he had put himself on the throne, had caused himself to be invested with the royal ornaments, and had pressed him, *Calahom*, to get him crowned and proclaimed King, and that he would have accomplished it if he had not been prevented by them. He said, further, that *Oya Capheim* had always favoured the party and the interests of the Prince, and that his design had been to join him with the army of the King which he commanded as General, if he had not been prevented by *Oya Senaphimoq* and by the Japanese soldiers. *Oya Capheim*, he said, had greatly regretted the death of the Prince, and he had dared to say that this murder would not remain unpunished and unavenged. And, in addition to all, he urged that all the actions of *Oya Capheim* made it plain that there was nothing good to hope from him; that he was the enemy of the sons of the great King; that he loved still the memory of the Prince; and that he cherished an aversion against those whom he called usurpers, an aversion which it would be impos-

sible to overcome, and therefore that he merited death in all its forms. *Oya Berckelagh* confirmed everything that *Oya Calahom* had said, and the two together caused the King to believe that, for the security of his person, and for the preservation of the state, it was necessary to do away with *Oya Capheim*. The young King, who was, in fact, only a child, acquiesced in this, and the noble referred to was at once arrested and put in prison, his feet, his hands, his arms and his head being loaded with irons. They gave his house up to pillage and distributed his slaves among the friends of *Calahom*. Thus in one moment, *Oya Capheim* saw himself without property and without friends. But, though treated in this fashion, he was unable to feel greatly afflicted, believing, as he did, that it was the result of the anger of the King who had been misled by his, *Capheim's*, enemies, and that *Oya Calahom*, his good son, would soon make his peace, and free him from prison with honour and restitution. And, in fact, pretending to be greatly surprised at the disgrace which had fallen on *Oya Capheim*, *Calahom* went to him in prison, and expressed to him his great astonishment at the step the King had taken touching his person. He consoled *Capheim*, exhorted him to have patience, and assured him that he would soon be out of prison. He pointed out that the action of the King was that of a young prince, and that nations were unfortunate under a young King. But he promised that he would make this his one business, and would soon have him out of that place, where assuredly he should not have to pass the night. Nor did he fail to keep his word. About two hours before sunset *Oya Capheim* was taken out of the prison and led to the gate of *Sachem* (*Tha Chao* or *Tha Chang*) on the bank of the river in order to be executed. Finding he was to die, and *Oya Calahom* had deceived him, *Oya Capheim* spoke strongly against him, relating the whole story of his treason in that he had chosen him for his father in order to shed his innocent blood, to put his whole house into disgrace, to pillage his wealth, and to put his children into slavery. He said *Calahom* had prejudiced the King by alleging false crimes against him in order to satiate his avarice and ambition, and that he was using him for a stepping stone to mount to the royal dignity. After these first expressions of anger, he begged to be brought before the King in order to establish innocence, and he asked that judges be appointed who would judge him according to the laws of the kingdom. But there was no question here of judging :

it was one of executing. Accordingly they tied him to the trunk of a *Bisang* (Banana) tree, laid him on the earth and gave him a blow with a scimitar on the left side. His entrails came out at once, and they finished killing him with a blow of a rattan with which they pierced his neck. The body was hung on a gibbet constructed of large bamboos, as an example, as though he had been convicted of conspiracy against the person of the King.

Oya Senaphimocq had not been to Court that day, but learning what had been done to *Oya Capheim* and how he had been executed, he was greatly angered, particularly against *Oya Calahom*, since if he was not the instigator of the death, he could at least have prevented it by his authority, and by interceding with the King. At first he could not believe that *Calahom* had been *Capheim's* accuser, but he was angry with him because he had not himself been warned so that he might have spoken to the King. Thereupon, having gone to Court, he caused the body to be taken off the gibbet, and had it buried, weeping tears for his friend. This compassion of *Senaphimocq* was not pleasing to *Oya Calahom*, but he did not dare to show his displeasure because of the great authority of *Senaphimocq*, and the consideration in which the Japanese were held. The fixed property and other wealth of *Oya Capheim* which had not been looted, such as the elephants, the horses, the arms, the coined gold and silver which the Siamese are accustomed to bury, and the slaves which had not been discovered at the time of the looting, fell into the hands of *Calahom* and *Berckelwugh*, who employed it for the purpose of making fresh adherents, and attaching their creatures and partisans still more to their interests. They brought to the Court some of the principal wives and concubines with their daughters, and they still serve the Queen in the capacity of slaves; the others were given to their intimates. They brought also to the Court some of the sons of the deceased whom they distributed among the Mandarins. It was done because none of the daughters or wives could claim any of the property, and only some of the sons could claim any advancement. The compassion which *Oya Senaphimocq* had dared to show towards the body of *Oya Capheim*—who had been condemned by justice and disowned by the King—became so much the more suspicious in the eyes of *Calahom* that he inferred that the understanding between these two nobles must have been greater than he had believed, or than they had made appear. The result

was that, fearing some resentment on the part of the Japanese, he desired to strengthen himself against them by the friendship of all the Mandarins, and set himself to ingratiate himself with them as much as possible. *Senaphimoc*, on his side, having so many proofs of the perfidy and the bad intentions of *Calahom* abstained from going to the Court in order to avoid meeting him. But *Calahom*, being unable to endure his absence, resolved to go and see him at his house for the purpose of bewailing his own position. He decided to say it had become unbearable, because he was compelled to defer blindly to the whims of the King who, being still only a child, could not be expected to show much wisdom. This, he would say, exposed him to the distrust of his rivals, who laid to his charge everything that the King did against his advice. He desired also to justify himself as regards the death of *Oya Capheim*. But, having been warned of his purpose, *Senaphimoc* anticipated his visit, caused the door to be closed and refused to speak with him. *Calahom* put up with this affront, but, none the less, he did not lose his resentment.

Now, at this time, there arrived on the river of *Siam*, at the town of *Iudia*, Mr. Sebald Wondereer, then a free merchant and captain of the despatch vessel of the *Pearl*, and Receiver General of the revenue of the East India Company at Batavia.

Oya Calahom was afraid that *Senaphimoc*, in order to avenge the death of *Oya Capheim*, might make use of the Dutchmen to attempt something against his person and dignity. So he warned the Captain, in view of the bad state of affairs in the Kingdom, to be on his guard, and to do nothing if he were pressed to take a side, but to consider simply the interests of the King. And, in order to secure his good will, the Dutchman was presented with a scimitar from the royal treasure, having the hilt, and ornaments of the scabbard, of gold set with stones, while *Calahom* caused the rumour to be spread that *Oya Senaphimoc* had a special understanding with this Captain and that his intention was to join the people of this vessel to his Japanese and to attack the King in his palace. This rumour made such an impression on the minds of the nobles and the people that they began to arm themselves. But that was not the purpose of *Calahom*, who desired to utilise the rumour only in order to have an opportunity of conferring with *Senaphimoc*, and of placating the resentment which he might still entertain with regard to

the death of *Capheim*, and of securing his friendship. The rumour, however, rendered *Senaphimoc* so much suspect in the eyes of the King and the Mandarins that, in order to obtain some light as to his intentions, they caused him to be summoned to Court. But he excused himself on the ground of indisposition, which is the usual excuse of Siamese nobles when they do not wish to go to Court, hiding their fear under this pretext. Taking advantage of this convenient opportunity, *Calahom* resolved to go and see *Oya Senaphimoc* in his house, and, having obtained an interview, he was skilful enough to lay before him so many reasons, and cajoled him so completely, that the Japanese yielded, conceived a very good opinion of the intentions and conduct of *Calahom*, renounced all his resentment, and promised an inviolable friendship, as also to espouse his interests in all eventualities. This they both confirmed by a solemn oath with the usual ceremonies of the country.

Peace having thus been made between these two ministers and their friendship having been solemnly confirmed, *Calahom* at once planned to rid himself of the one who alone could prevent him from carrying out his design to gain the royal power. In order to succeed in this, and in order to cause him to perish far from the Court, he proposed to the Council of the King that it would be necessary, in view of the past disorders, and the rebellion and disobedience of several nobles, to cause the governors of the more distant provinces to come to the Court in order to oblige them to renew their oath of fidelity to the King. The Council unanimously agreed, and the resolution having been passed, *Calahom* had the order sent at once to *Oya Ligor* (*Okya Nakhon*). He did this because he knew that *Oya Ligor* would refuse to come on account of the state of his province, which was threatened with a serious war by the people of Patania, and because also the inhabitants were on the point of taking up arms. He would thus have a pretext for accusing the governor of rebellion, and an opportunity for having *Oya Senaphimocq* sent to arrest him. *Thirak Hidra Thy Bidy* (*Tra Rajendra Thi Bodi*), that is to say, an order under the grand seal, was at once sent to *Oya Ligor* who, in view of the absolute power of the King, found himself in great perplexity. When he considered, however, the state of the province, which would run the risk of being lost in his absence, he resolved with the advice of his friends to defer his journey to the Court, charging the messenger who had been sent, to convey his excuses and

his submissions, and the fact that he recognised the King as his sovereign and as the legitimate monarch of the Kingdom of Siam. This reply pleased *Calahom* extremely as it provided him with an opportunity to censure the conduct of this noble to the King, to make him appear of a disobedient and rebellious spirit, and to get it decided that, as soon as possible, another governor should be sent with orders to arrest *Oya Ligoor* (*Okya Nakhon*), and to send him a prisoner to *Iudia*, to be punished for his rebellion. This resolution having been taken, *Oya Calahom* represented to the Council that the government of *Oya Ligoor* was the most important of the whole kingdom, partly by reason of the situation of the province which has several seaports and is watered by very considerable rivers, partly by reason of the threats of the *Patanois* and of the disobedience of the inhabitants, who, required a vigorous and enterprising man to inspire the country's enemies with terror and its subjects with respect, who, further, should be able to arrest *Oya Ligoor* despite his great influence with officers of the army. He went on to urge that all the qualities necessary for this undertaking were to be found in *Oya Senaphimocq*, and that his authority and the reputation of the Japanese were alone capable of maintaining the authority of his Majesty in the province. *Oya Senaphimocq* desired to excuse himself from undertaking this commission, and would have preferred to remain at Court, because he suspected the fidelity of *Calahom*, and was beginning to believe that his purpose was to withdraw him from the Court in order that the authority of the Japanese soldiers might not be able to prevent him mounting the throne.

This unwillingness on the part of *Oya Senaphimocq* to undertake the government of *Ligoor* appeared very suspicious to *Calahom* and gave him great umbrage. In order to gain him over, therefore, *Calahom* employed his most subtle tricks and artifices; he paid him the most obsequious marks of respect and went to visit him every day at his own house, contrary to the laws and customs of Siam, continually bewailing the fact that he found himself charged with all the affairs of State. He told *Senaphimocq* that he could hardly suffer him to come every day to Court and do reverence to him as the one who represented the person of the Monarch, and that he would not permit it at all were it not that he was obliged to yield to custom in order to keep the other Mandarins to their duty. In order, however, to deliver *Senaphimocq* from this servitude and

subjection to which his stay at Court obliged him, *Calahom* said he had begged the King to confer the government of *Ligoor* upon him as being the most valiant man in the Kingdom and the most capable of doing the King service. This cajolery flattered the ears of *Oya Senaphimocq* so successfully that *Calahom* seeing him in good humour went at once to the palace, and a very great retinue was sent to call *Senaphimocq* in the name of the King. The King received him very kindly, declared him governor of *Ligoor* with the usual ceremonies and crowned him with a pyramidal crown, in this way doing him an honour which had never before been done to any private individual. These extraordinary honours displeased *Oya Senaphimocq* so much that he was unable to hide his annoyance altogether from *Oya Calahom*, but in order to completely gain him over the latter made him so many presents of gold, coined and worked, of stones, and of other rarities which he caused to be put on the vessel that had brought him to Court, that it was overloaded.

When *Senaphimocq*, who had thus become *Oya Ligoor*, had embarked on the river and was approaching his house, there arose so great a storm that, if some of his Japanese had not leaped into the river and borne up the boat with their shoulders, their Colonel would have been drowned with all his presents, and with all the marks of honour he had just received. Most of the Siamese who saw him land after this peril spoke of this incident as presaging a great misfortune, and, not long after, this came to pass.

Calahom gave himself no rest till *Oya Senaphimocq*, or *Oya Ligoor*, had taken the oath of fidelity for his new government, and till there had been given him the despatches necessary for his journey. And, in order that he might have the more authority in his Government, it was resolved that he should take with him all the Japanese in the Kingdom. This decision greatly pleased everybody, everyone being glad to see the Court cleared of this rabble, but no one penetrated the purpose of the Minister.

Having now, by the death of *Oya Capheim*, and by the departure of *Senaphimocq* and his insolent Japanese, rid himself of several perplexities, and finding hardly any other obstacle in his way, *Oya Calahom* began to insinuate little by little to his creatures and partisans that the King was an infant of bad natural disposition and incompetent, adding that it was against the laws of the State, against custom and even against common sense, to put so great and powerful

a Kingdom in the hands of a child. *Calahom* impressed upon them that he would succumb under the charge which the Mandarins had imposed upon him, and that several reasons obliged him to desire to be quit of it. There was reason to fear, he said, that when the King had come to man's estate he would lend ear to those who envied him (*Calahom*) his fortune and to his secret enemies, who would not fail to make him feel their hate in rendering his person suspect, and in decrying his government during the regency. The result would be, he said, that he would be unable to save himself from the cruel hand of the King who even in his present youth, made it plain enough what he (*Calahom*) had to hope from him. In order to prevent the disorders that the whole Kingdom might fear from his harsh disposition, he thought it would be well, therefore, if they put the King to school in the hands of some ecclesiastics who would be able to correct his disposition by their good training and to teach him the way of virtue. He said they should then elect a president who would govern the Kingdom with the title of "King" till the true King had come of age, when the regent could hand back to him all the authority and all the rights of sovereignty with the Royal title. When this proposal was communicated to his creatures and partisans it found among them so universal an approbation that they were not afraid to put it forward openly in the general assembly of the nobility, representing that for the good of the state, for the repose of the people, and to preserve respect for the Kingdom among neighbouring Kings and princes, it was very necessary to place the young King for some time in a monastery and to elect *Oya Calahom* president and regent of the Kingdom with the title of "King" and with all the authority necessary for the position. *Calahom* made a pretence of being anxious to refuse this, and even insisted that he should be relieved of the post of guardian and regent that they had conferred on him despite his express protests. He said that he would not consent to be constrained to occupy a still higher position. But as the whole assembly saw quite clearly that this was a piece of dissimulation, there was no one who did not support the election, some through affection, others through fear. The King was at once sent to the temple of *Watdemi* (Wat Temi) which is the synagogue where the chief of their ecclesiastics presides, and *Calahom* having been elected president and regent of the Kingdom under the Royal title, his new subjects did honour and service to him. He kept protesting, however, that it was in spite of himself that he accepted this dignity.

Having been thus elected, *Oya Calahom* acquitted himself at the beginning of his regency very worthily, and governed with so much prudence, moderation and justice that several mandarins, some by interest in order to make their fortune, and others through fear of his anger, adjudged that it was necessary to offer the Kingdom and the crown to him as deserving to be the legitimate King. On his part he represented to his partisans that it was impossible for the Kingdom to go on under two monarchs, and that he himself ran the same peril as he would have done in the position of guardian and regent. One day he would have to become a subject, when the young King came to the throne, and his actions would be subject to the same censure and the same envy. So, to preserve his life for the future, he was resolved to resign the regency and the dignity with which they had desired to honour him, principally because he foresaw that most of the Mandarins ran the same risk as himself. The Mandarins held some special conferences on this subject, and, after due consideration of the reasons advanced by *Oya Calahom*, they settled things so well that by means of some Councillors of State and of some of the principal nobility a special resolution was passed in an assembly that was held of all the officers of the Crown. This resolution set forth that there was great danger in suffering two sovereign Princes in the same Kingdom, since they threatened the State, not only with civil and foreign wars, but also with inevitable ruin, and that in order to prevent both dangers it was necessary to do away with this young King, who was incapable of reigning, and to elect in his stead one who by his good conduct and his equitable rule had shown that he was worthy of this high honour.

This proposition having been accepted by the whole assembly, the resolve was carried into effect with much injustice. Only the Regent (*Oya Calahom*), making a pretence of compassion for the young King, did not wish to consent to the proposal till, with apparently great unwillingness, he saw himself constrained to yield to the plurality of votes. The young King was at once taken from the college, his ecclesiastical robe was taken off him by a trick, and he was led to the same place where the Prince his uncle, and where his brother and his mother had been inhumanly executed, to the great regret of all good people. This young Monarch had been seated on the throne for only 36 days, when he was made to come down from it in order to mount a scaffold. When he arrived at the place

of execution he burst into tears and said: "Why must I die when I have not yet reached the age of eleven years? Is it not enough for this sanguinary Council to have put to death my uncle, my brother and my mother, and to wrest the crown from me, without sending me to my death? Let him whom they have elected King reign, and let them allow me to live." These words touched the hearts of all who were assisting at the scene, and even those of the executioners who, by their tears and their sobs, showed the regret they felt at executing these cruel orders. Nevertheless they had to obey and this young King had to die.

After the death of the King, in the year 1629, the Regent was declared absolute King, with much ceremony and pomp, he being then 30 years old. On his coronation he was given the name of *Praongsry dharma Raetsia Thyara* (Phra Ong Sri Thama Racha Thirat) and in order to strengthen his throne by a Royal alliance he took for his fourth wife, after the three chief ones, the eldest daughter of the sister of the great King. He gave the second daughter to his brother, whom he declared at the same time heir presumptive to the throne. He wished that the mother of the King last dead, who was one of the most beautiful women in the Kingdom, should be his concubine. But she showed such repugnance to that, that she absolutely refused to go to Court, which order had been sent her. Seeing at last that the King would compel her by force, she said: "The King my lord is no more, and my son is also dead. I, too, am tired of life seeing that I am unworthy to survive either of them. But while I do live, my body shall remain chaste and shall never be enjoyed by this usurper and tyrant." The King was so angered by this refusal, this bitter reply and this bloody reproach, that he at once caused this Princess to be dragged to the bank of the river, where he had her cut in two pieces and one part of the body fastened by the neck to a gibbet of bambocs. On the prayer of the ecclesiastics, however, he allowed the body to be taken down after two days, and burned without ceremonies. He took all the other concubines and daughters of the great King, making concubines of the younger and more beautiful, and putting to death with great cruelty those who refused that position. The aged ladies were shut up in a harem where they were supported very meanly.

This brutality exercised on the life of three powerful Kings consecutively in so short a space of time, moved extremely those who

had a spark of humanity left in them. But no one dared to show such a feeling, or to weep for the shedding of so much innocent blood, for those who were only suspected ran the same peril. There were in *Iudia* two sisters who had served the mother of the King last deceased in the capacity of maids of honour. They shed tears in their house for the death of their mistress and of the King her son ; and this fact was reported to the reigning King. He at once caused them to be dragged by the hair to the bank of the river, where he had them fastened to a stake by passing a reed round their necks in such a way that their feet hardly touched the earth. Then he caused their bodies to be opened on both sides and gags to be put in their mouths, and they were left to die in this fashion, with unspeakable torture. When the father of these two sisters, learned of the condition of his daughters, he went to the place of execution and there gave expression to his mourning as nature obliged him to do at the sight of this sad spectacle. When the King was informed of this, he caused the man to be cleft through the body, which was then hung on a gibbet. The great cruelty shown in these executions closed the mouth of all the others and prevented them mourning the death of their friends or their relatives.

After having thus dealt with the revolution that took place in the town of *Iudia*, touching the unjust and tyrannical way in which the succession was secured of the Kingdom of Siam, we must now see what became of *Oya Senaphimoc*, and what he did with his Japanese at *Ligoor*, and in what fashion the King succeeded in causing to perish those who could trouble his repose and prevent his establishment in the royal power. The former Governor of *Ligoor*, having had sure information as to what took place at Court in his affair and that his successor was on the way, awaited him patiently and remained in his government. He did so, as much because he feared the first movements of the anger of the King, as because he hoped to be able to justify himself so successfully to his successor that he would promise him his protection, so that if he had to be conducted to *Iudia* he might be well treated on the way and have a powerful advocate with the King. On the arrival of the new Governor at *Ligoor*, he inspired everyone with such great dread that he dissipated the whole rebellion at once, so that not one of the rebels dared to make an appearance. But that did not prevent *Oya Senaphimocq* from marking down the chiefs and leaders, and having them

put to death, and punished with other punishments, or with banishment according to the seriousness of the crime. In general, all of them had their property confiscated, and that he distributed among his Japanese. The result was that in a short space of time he swept the province of what could trouble his repose, established his authority and secured the province for the King. And since in all this he had found the advice of his predecessor very useful, he consented to his remaining by him in the post of chief adviser.

After he had settled the most urgent affairs of his government, and not knowing anything of what had taken place at *Iudia*, the new *Oya Ligoor* despatched an express to the Court in order to report on the condition in which he had found the Province on his arrival, and on the means he had used to punish the rebels, to obtain peace for his government and to secure the province to the Crown of Siam. The King had supposed that the affairs of *Ligoor* would give more occupation to the Japanese, and was not greatly pleased at this big success, but he did not allow that to be seen. He expressed himself as being very satisfied with the conduct of the Governor, even as to his having made use of the advice of his predecessor, and himself proposed in the assembly of the Mandarins that it was necessary to give an extraordinary recompense for so important a service. He did so, he said, in order that by the marks he would give of his affection and of his royal benevolence he might mark this Governor an example for all worthy people, as his royal justice would always inspire terror in the wicked; but principally in order thereby to incite his officers to acquit themselves well of the duties imposed on them by their charges. This proposition was approved by the whole Council. It was resolved that the Governor should be obliged to take the oath of fidelity to the reigning King, and that with several very considerable presents they should send him a number of beautiful girls and women in the name of the King, one in particular whom he could marry in accordance with the customs of Siam.

This resolution was speedily carried into effect, and the young girls, with the presents, were sent with great pomp to *Ligoor*. But at the same time the King caused *Oya Berckelangh* to write to the Governor who had been dispossessed that, if he could rid himself of the Japanese Governor and deliver the Kingdom from the insolence of that nation, he would be able to secure the good graces of the King and his reappointment in his Government. *Oya Senaphimocq*, whom one ought

more properly to term *Oya Ligoor*, was very glad to see so many presents. But he was sensibly touched by the death of the young King, and showed much dissatisfaction at the fact that they had proceeded to the election and coronation of *Calahom*, without taking his advice about it. In fact it caused him profound grief, and carried him away so far as to say that this murder and this illegitimate election would find some one who would exact vengeance for the one as for the other. Nevertheless after the first emotion he came to himself, dissimulated his displeasure, and had triumphs and other rejoicings held for the succession of the King, who reigns to-day.

But he conceived so great a distrust of his predecessor that he caused him to be forbidden the house and desired not to see him any more. He did not cease, however, to make much of his brother, *Apra Marit*, (Okphra Amorarit) allowing him to visit him from time to time. About this time it happened that while *Oya Ligoor* was commanding an army corps against the *Patanois*, he was wounded in one engagement in the leg, and the wound being very painful he made use of some preparations that *Apra Marit* applied to it. As an effect of these medicaments the pain was not only soothed, but the wound was also almost cured, so that it did not prevent his celebrating his marriage with the girl that the King had sent to him. But when *Oya Ligoor* believed that he was going to enjoy the fruit of his love, he was in fact on the point of death; for at the height of the rejoicings of the wedding *Apra Marit* applied a poisoned plaster to his leg, which caused him to die in a few hours.

The son of the deceased *Oya Ligoor* was named *Oekon Senaphimocq* and might have been about 18 years old, a noble well born and of great hope. Following the impulses of his youth he caused himself to be declared Governor of the province, and believing as he did that the former Governor had poisoned his father he caused him to be arrested as a prisoner, having resolved to have him put to death and sacrificed to the "manes" of his father. But this old fox knew so well how to flatter the young Governor that not only did the latter lose all the suspicion he had had, but he also married the eldest daughter of the murderer of his father, swearing to both eternal fidelity and reciprocal assistance in all cases. After that, the former Governor commenced to make his son-in-law believe that the King had given the province to his father, not simply to govern, but to reign there with absolute power as sovereign, without being in any

way dependent on the Court, and that this province being like an hereditary Kingdom in his family, the succession belonged to him as being the eldest of the house. Such talk sounded so pleasantly in the ears of this young noble that, being supported by several flatterers, he found no difficulty in believing it, or in moderating the affliction that he might still feel on account of the death of his father. He then began to take all his measures on this footing, to fill the vacant offices, to distribute very considerable presents to his favourites, to make *Oyas*, and *Operas*, to appoint Mandarins, and even appoint a day for the public solemnity of his coronation in order to get himself recognised as King, and to get his new subjects to drink the consecrated water in taking to him the oath of fidelity. But while the traitor was influencing his son-in-law to do what we have just stated, he addressed himself to a certain Japanese Captain, the most redoubtable of the troop, named *Orkon Cirwy Aquodt* (Okkhun Sri Waiyawut), and represented to him that the incapacity of this young Governor rendered him unworthy of such a position. He urged that the command belonged to the Captain himself as being a man of merit, and the one who was the most valiant and the most considerable of all the Japanese. *Orkon Cirwy* lent ear to this talk, and desiring to put forward his claims he caused arms to be taken to his friends and declared himself against the young Governor, thus dividing the Japanese into two factions. They often had encounters, and this thinned the number on both sides.

The former Governor, having in this fashion armed the Japanese against one another, sought still other means to be quit of them and to cause them to be destroyed, by inciting opposition on the part of the nobility and the inhabitants of *Ligoor* to the insolence of the Japanese, and by representing to them that the enterprise of the young Governor was an act of sheer usurpation and an attempt on the Royal authority. He pointed out that the government of the province had never been hereditary, but depended on the absolute disposition of his Majesty, and that not only would their acquiescence displease the Court, but that even their silence would be criminal and would expose them to the peril of the utmost punishment. It was necessary, therefore, he urged, to act with prudence and to oppose themselves to the designs of the Japanese. The people of *Ligoor* appreciated these reasons so well that the whole of the nobility determined not to go to Court on the day that had been appointed for the

coronation, not to recognise the Japanese in any matter of State, and not to yield them any superiority. The Japanese, however, continued to make all the necessary preparations for the coronation, but on the appointed day not one of the nobility of the country appeared at Court, though the Japanese had pressed them urgently. But that did not prevent the Japanese from going to, and proceeding with, the coronation. They caused *Ockon Senaphimoeq* to be proclaimed King of *Ligoor*, and orders were issued that the people would have to recognise him as such, to render him the usual honours, to come and render him homage, and to come and drink the water of allegiance. The people of *Ligoor* objected to doing so, and said that *Ockon Senaphimoeq* was only an usurper and a rebel against the King of Siam, and that they would not, and could not, recognise him in any position or dignity that he had not formerly obtained from the Court.

The former Governor, however, stirred up the two factions of Japanese by his intrigues to such an extent that their hatred made them irreconcilable, and they began to fortify themselves the one against the other with the design of surprising one another at a disadvantage, each side remaining mistrustful and on its guard. Then *Ockon Cirwy Agwod*, (Okkhun Sri Waiyawut), seeing that the former Governor was deceiving him and was seeking only to re-establish himself by the downfall of the Japanese, joined the son of the late *Oya Ligoor* and the other Japanese. He then attacked and surprised the former Governor in his house, where he killed him with his own hand, and caused the throats of all they found therein to be cut. On this occasion there was a cruel encounter between the Japanese and the people of *Ligoor*. Several were killed on both sides, but at last the Japanese, animated by despair, charged the others with such fury that they were compelled to turn their backs and flee from the town, which being thus abandoned was pillaged by the Japanese and in part reduced to ashes. Nevertheless, as the Japanese were unable to subsist of themselves, their pretended King caused a general amnesty to be published, and the exiles to be invited to come back to the town, promising to have returned to each of them whatever was to be found. But the distrust was so great that apart from a few Chinese no one cared to venture back, everyone remaining in the country or withdrawing to the neighbouring towns. The town of *Ligoor* thus remained a deserted and ruined place, while *Ockon Senaphimoeq* and *Ockon Cirwy* did not cease to contend continually for the government. The

result was that the number of the Japanese diminished every day in the continual encounters that took place and in one of these the Captain, *Ockon Cirwy*, was killed. Then the Japanese, seeing how little advantage they were getting from their stay at *Ligoor* and reflecting that the King of Siam would not suffer them in his kingdom, but would soon have them attacked with the whole forces of the state, abandoned the town and withdrew to Cambodia. This they did to the great contentment of the Siamese, who were delighted at finding themselves freed from this vermin, regarding them as people from whose despair they had everything to fear.

There was no great distress over the disorders that had taken place in *Ligoor*, the murders that had been committed there, or the ruin of the town, because of the joy there was over the ruin and flight of the Japanese. Nevertheless though the conduct of these people had been extremely insolent and cruel, there were still some of them who had the courage to leave Cambodia and return to *Ligoor*, and even from there to *Iudia*. There they lived unpunished, nor was any harm done them, except that people avoided their company or meeting with them. They loaded a barque, however, with all kinds of wealth with the intention of sending it, with the body of their late Colonel, to Japan. But it was seized by the express order of the King, either to irritate them, or to incite them by this affront to quit the Kingdom of Siam. Finally, however, fearing to drive them to despair, he restored to them the junk or barque and allowed them to trade in Siam. But in place of being grateful for this civility, the Japanese became more insolent, and did not scruple to say aloud that they would go and attack the King on his throne, and they would put the town into the same state as in the time of the great King.

Then the King, being warned of the insolence of their words and fearing the result of a desperate resolve, determined to be beforehand with them. For this purpose he had fire set to the Japanese quarter on the night of the 26th October, 1632, when by the overflowing of the river all the streets of the town were under water. Further he at the same time had cannon fired on their houses with such fury that they were compelled to throw themselves into their junks. But inasmuch as they were not in sufficient numbers to be able to arm both junks, they made use of only one, in which they descended with the current of the river, fighting all the time as they retreated. The King caused the attack and pursuit to be kept up, at the cost of the

lives of several Siamese. Then those Japanese who had dwelt in other quarters of the town were diligently searched for and were cruelly put to death, to the great contentment of those to whom their insolence had been insupportable.

The inhabitants of *Ligoor*, finding themselves delivered from these Japanese, wished also to shake off the yoke of the Siamese domination. Accordingly they rose, took up arms and refused to recognise the King as their sovereign lord and lawful Prince, their purpose being to separate themselves from the Crown and to make their province an independent State. But they had to do with a Prince who knew well how to make himself be obeyed, and who for this purpose despatched there at once an army corps of 10,000 men under three of the principal generals of his kingdom. The vanguard, composed of 3,200 men, was commanded by *Opera Soupa Pontrook*, (Okphra Sakda Pholarit); *Oya Iainam*, (Okya Tainam), General of the whole army, commanded the battle corps, composed of 4,000 men; and *Oya Ligoor*, that is to say the new Governor of *Ligoor*, led the rear-guard. They all three attacked the town of *Ligoor* at the same time, and took it on the first assault. They hunted down the rebels in a quarter where they had barricaded themselves, and sent 17 of the principal prisoners to *Iudia*. There, without their being heard and without any form of trial, sheets of red hot iron were applied to their feet, they were bound with heavy chains and were buried in the ground up to their shoulders, remaining thus exposed to the derision of the passersby, who were obliged to give each of them a thump on the head—the greatest insult that one can do to a man in the Kingdom of Siam. But after they had been in this position for 24 hours, the priests interceded for them, with the result that they were taken out of the ground and allowed to go.

Now at that time the Kings of *Ischeen Mey* (Chiengmai) and of *Naan*, who were brothers, were on very bad terms, because the elder, who was King of *Ischeen Mey* and who possessed the better part of the paternal succession, wished also to encroach on the share of his brother. And in fact he drove him from his Kingdom, and compelled him to withdraw with a few of his subjects into Siam. But after having dwelt some time under the protection of Siam, about 500 of his subjects, living in the province of *Lauwa*, (Law) withdrew and betook themselves to *Ischeen Mey*. This retreat caused the King of Siam uneasiness for he feared that *Ischeen Mey*, inspired by these deserters,

might stir up the King of *Ava* against him, and that these two Princes might unite their forces to make war on him. For that reason he resolved to be beforehand with them, and for this purpose he caused to be raised an army of 90,000 men, foot and horse, accompanied by a large number of elephants, by artillery and all the other necessary things,—a great force for the country, and capable of taking the whole Kingdom of *Ischeen Mey*. *Iauphia*, (Thao-phyä) Lieutenant General of this army, and the *Oyas Calahom* and *Pithey* (Phichai) took the lead with a body of 9,000 men, among whom they had placed some Japanese, who had been taken out of prison, while the King followed them in person three days after with the rest of the army. Before leaving the Palace, the King made a solemn oath that the first four women he met should be used as a sacrifice, and that for this purpose he would have them cut in pieces, and would have his boats rubbed with their blood, their fat and their entrails. Scarcely had he put his foot out of the castle when he met four women in a boat, and in their persons he fulfilled the vow that he had just made. Thereafter he continued his journey greatly pleased at this encounter, which seemed to assure him of the advantage that he hoped to obtain over his enemies. On learning that the King of *Siam* was marching with so powerful an army, the King of *Ischeen Mey* abandoned his Kingdom and fled with all his subjects, without waiting for the help that the King of *Ava* might have been able to send him. The King of *Siam*, finding no enemies and being unwilling to lead back his army without employing it on some considerable enterprise, resolved to attack *Lycon Lauwa*, (Nakhon Law) because the King of that province was a tributary of *Ischeen Mey* and had done him homage. For that purpose he sent *Oya Pouceloucq* before with some troops, and promised to follow him with the rest of the army. But *Pouceloucq*, believing that it would be derogatory to his honour if he gave the King the trouble of coming so far, attacked the chief town on all sides, forced the gates, and put fire to a number of houses. This so terrified the inhabitants, although they had among them a defensive force of more than 2,000 men, that the King fled with some of his suite; but he was hotly pursued and taken. He was however, so overcome with fatigue and grief, that he died before he could be brought back to the town. The King of *Siam*, having arrived at a distance of three days' journey from the town of *Lycon Lauwa*, learned of the taking of the

town and of the capture and death of the King, and did not desire to advance farther. He halted there and caused notices to be put up on all the roads and highways announcing that if the son of the late King desired to do homage to him he could return home in full security and govern the kingdom of his father. But the young Prince did not appear. Accordingly *Pouceloucq*, after he had remained ten days in the town, abandoned it to pillage, leading and carrying off with him a part of the inhabitants, and all the wealth, all the artillery and all the provisions in the place. He left only about a thousand persons to have charge of the body of the late King, in order that it might be burned with the usual ceremonies. As soon as *Pouceloucq* had joined the main body of the army, the King returned to *Iudlia*, which he entered in triumph, having in his train more than 10,000 prisoners, and among others some of those who had left the King of *Naan* to join his brother. Several of these were put to death in a very extraordinary fashion, being put into split bamboos—bamboos are huge cane—which were still growing in the ground. There they met a miserable death. Those who were found alive at the end of four or five days, were condemned to the fire, but on the prayer of the priests they were pardoned.

The King of *Siam*, seeing himself thus victorious over his enemies and having settled his affairs, then rid himself, under various pretexts, of the greater part of the more important nobles of the Kingdom, even of those who had most contributed to his advancement. He did so for fear that they might exercise against himself the same perfidy that they had shown towards their legitimate Kings. In the month of April of the year 1633, after the third year of his reign was completed, he seated himself on his throne and asked the Mandarins, whom he had expressly caused to assemble, if there was any among them who desired to get intoxicated. And inasmuch as no one said a word, he put to them another question, asking them which *Arac* (Arrack) they considered the better, the old or the new. Thereupon, when some of them had declared their sentiments, he said to them that there were still two bottles remaining of the cellar of the great King and that he would be glad to have their advice on what ought to be done with them, and if it would be better to throw away the arrack for fear that its age and its strength should cause the bottles to burst. He added, also, that no one could make use of it. *Oya Ombrat* and *Oya Immerat* (*Okyä Yomarat*), seeing the intention of

the King, represented to him with much submission and respect that it seemed to them that it would be possible to pardon the insolence of the age of those two young Princes, sons of the great King, since, as their united ages did not amount to twelve years, they would not remember the dignity that their father had possessed. But the King considered this reply a reproach rather than a remonstrance, and allowed himself to be so carried away with anger that he put his hand to his sword and with his own hand inflicted several wounds on their heads. Then he had them thrown into dungeons, disposed of their slaves, and caused their houses to be looted. After that without any other deliberation he sent and arrested those two young Princes, one of whom was not yet seven years old and the other five. They were led to the ordinary place of execution and put to death in the same fashion as the Prince, the two Kings and the other persons of the royal house had been executed. This caused great displeasure to all the Siamese, whom such cruelty horrified. Their bodies were thrown into a well, and were left there for more than a year. At the end of that time the rotten members and the bones were taken from the well and burned on the bank of the river, into which the ashes were thrown in order that no memory of them might remain. In the same year the King met three other sons of the great King, of whom the eldest could not have been more than six, with one of the concubines of the deceased, whom he had caused to live in the Palace. Seeing them very sad, he imagined that they were reflecting on their past condition, and he sent at once for *Oya Sicry* (Okya Chakkri), who is at present *Berckelangh*. To him the King said that the herbs whose roots were stringy from the beginning, were not good to eat, and that one must root them up and throw them away quickly. He went on to say that he had seen these children with one of his concubines, in a state which led him to judge that since at this age they had enough resentment of the past to dare to show it, they would not fail to act in another fashion when they should have more heart and more knowledge. Therefore he thought it would be better that they should be made to keep company with the others. This was accordingly done; they were taken to the same place where the others had been executed and put to death in the same manner. The woman was dragged to the river and there drowned.

There is still one Prince alive who is the eldest son of the great King, whose father ought to have succeeded to the Kingdom. But

inasmuch as *Para Marit*, that is to say the Black King, had caused his eyes to be injured or weakened his sight by fire, he renounced the throne and lived in the palace. He had only one wife and very few slaves while his sole pastime was to present himself several times a day before the King. Now in the month of March, 1635, fire destroyed a large part of the town, and devastated almost the whole of it. After the fire was extinguished this Prince was allowed to go into the town and see the pitiful state of things. But he had no sooner appeared in the street than, to his misfortune, the people, seeing in this Prince what remained of the royal house, regarded him with veneration and rendered him the greatest honours, such as it was not customary to render even to the King. This caused the tyrant such jealousy that he determined to put the Prince to death. Nevertheless in order to be able to do it with some pretext of justice, he caused him to be provoked by soldiers of the Palace, who have their arms tattooed. They treated him shamefully, and spoke to him very offensively, which obliged him to give a blow to one of the guards. This having been reported to the King, he sent for the Prince and reproached him very bitterly. His audacity, the King said, had become insupportable, and he had lost the respect that was due to him, by putting his hand on people who bear the King's mark, and who preserve the public peace and execute the laws of the Kingdom. Further since he had had the impudence to attack them, the King's royal person, his wife and his children would not be safe, and so in order to prevent the evils that were to be feared in the future it was necessary that the Prince should die. Having been thus condemned, the Prince was led to the place of execution, but the prayers of the Princess, grandmother of the King, saved his life, only however to render it more wretched. For the King caused him to take drugs that made him half-witted, by taking from him almost entirely the use of his eyes and ears, and injuring his brain. The result is that there can be no hope that this Prince will ever be capable of reigning.

Finally on the 18th February last year, desiring to be rid of everything that could overshadow him, the King resolved to put to death the two last sons of the King, Princes of the age the one of 16 and the other of 18 years. For this purpose he had them conducted at night before the temple *Pramank hopraga* (Phramen Khok Phya), where the Kings and the other Princes had been executed, with the intention of having them put to death in the same fashion as these.

The same Princess, grandmother of the King, who had advised him in most of these executions, his two first wives, and the two sisters of these two Princes, wished to intercede for them. But the King would not listen to them, till the mother threatened to throw herself into the river, and the queens prepared poison to take if the King persisted in his cruel purpose. Then he was compelled to cause the execution to be suspended. Since that time the Princes have been obliged to leave the Palace, to go and live on the other side of the river. The eldest has been married to a girl of very low class, and they both have very few slaves and an income so small that it is scarcely sufficient for them to live upon. They are obliged to go every day to Court, and when the King appears in public they appear in his suite mounted on fine elephants, or if the King goes on the river they sit in gilded and richly furnished barges. There remain alive to-day of all the royal family, only the Queen, who is the third wife of the King, her sisters, the two Princes of whom we have just spoken and some female cousins, who are quite distantly related. All the rest have perished at the hands of him who owed his life to them, and on whom more than any one else lay the duty of preserving theirs.

Despite all this it is undoubted that, for several centuries, no King of Siam has brought to the throne so great valour, prudence so consummate, or a policy so adroit; so that apart from the cruelty that he showed at the beginning of his reign, one may say that he has all the qualities necessary for reigning well. If he has no title for his succession to the Crown, he has the merit of a legitimate King. Thus one may say that all the happy success of his great enterprises is the result of his excellent conduct rather than of his good fortune. The inhabitants of *Patania* refused to pay him the homage that they had always been accustomed to render to the King of *Siam*. So, in order that they might not be able to find in their neighbourhood those who would strengthen them in their rebellion, or trouble the repose of the Kingdom by a foreign war, he sent at the beginning of his reign a solemn embassy to the Kings of *Athein* (Acheen) and *Arracan* in order to renew the treaties of alliance, friendship, and intercourse that his predecessors had always maintained with them, and made a treaty of peace with them. For although subsequent events have made it plain that this treaty is not to last, the King did not fail to make use of it in order to bring back the people of *Patania* to the obedience

that they owed to him. Being then secure on that side, he despatched in the year 1634 an army of 30,000 men, which he reinforced with a number of foreigners, Portuguese, half-castes, Japanese, Malays, etc., who were living in the Kingdom, and he furnished this army with elephants, horses, artillery, provisions and munitions necessary for a great undertaking. This army was commanded by four chiefs, to wit, by *Oya Ligoor*, *Oya Berckelangh*, *Oya Calahom*, and *Oya Rabasit* (Okya Ramasit), but their disputes, their want of experience of actual war and their bad conduct had the success that one should have expected from their disorder. Consequently, desiring to attack the enemy alone, without the foreigners and particularly without the Dutch, who were the best armed and disciplined, they met with so vigorous a resistance that they were compelled to retire. This obliged the King to raise a second army, which was so formidable that the Queen of *Patania*, availing herself of the mediation of the King of *Queda*, set about doing her duty and sent, in the year 1636, her ambassadors to the Court and had homage done in the customary form, this being accompanied by the usual acknowledgements in the shape of several flowers of gold and silver. After that, desiring to strengthen the repose of his Kingdom, to draw to it foreign commerce, and to obtain for himself and for his subjects freedom of trade and of sending their junks everywhere, the King made peace and alliances with all the Indian Princes and with all the Kings and States that are known in the Indies. And although he had expelled and maltreated the Japanese, he did not fail to make them come back some time after, or to send his ambassadors to Japan, in order to make a treaty with that powerful Emperor of a very considerable part of the Orient. That ambassador was the bearer of a letter written in characters of gold, and of several splendid presents. But inasmuch as he had not yet come back when I left *India* two years ago, I can say nothing as to the success of his negotiations.

For a very long time the King of *Chiampa* (Champa) has also been a vassal of the Crown of Siam. And inasmuch as he refused to do homage in the time of *Pra Marit*, the Black King, about 50 years ago, that Prince entered his Kingdom with an army, conquered him in battle and compelled him to do homage. But as soon as that King, who was dreaded by his neighbours, was dead, the King of *Chiampa* refused to acknowledge the King of Siam. When the present King came to the throne he at once sent deputies, and among others

Trackousa Tsibidi, (Phra Kosa Thibodi), to the King of *Chiampa*. By them he had some presents made to the King of *Chiampa*, and had him reminded of his duty and invited to pay the homage that his predecessors had always rendered to the Kings of Siam. The King of *Chiampa* received the envoys very well, treated them magnificently and promised to send his people soon to *Iudia* there to do homage. These promises, however, remained unfulfilled and the King of Siam sent again, in the month of December following, the same *Trackhousa* with a pretty little present to the King of *Chiampa*, in order still to invite this Prince very gently to come and do his duty. But the success of this second embassy was not yet known when I left. This same King treated the Portuguese very badly, and kept them a long time miserably in prison at the commencement of his reign. But in the year 1636 he sent ambassadors to Malacca and Manila in order to renew the treaties of friendship with the Governors of those places, and in order to offer them peace, which, however, was only concluded in the year 1639, by the intervention of a Chinese ambassador of Macao. He sent also, at the beginning of his reign, ambassadors to the Kings of *Ava*, *Pegu*, and of *Langhianch* (Lanchang). By means of all these embassies and by the treaties that he thereby concluded, he assured peace with his neighbours and the repose of his Kingdom. The jealousy of these Kings of *Pegu* and of *Linghiangh* (Lanchang) is so great that they live in a state of continual distrust, and hold themselves on their guard, for fear of being attacked and surprised by the King of Siam. As a matter of fact there is little ground for such fear since the King of Siam, being anxious to secure the Crown for his family and for that purpose to gain the good will of his subjects, tries to ensure their living in peace and to enrich them by trade.

The King, having thus subdued the rebels and made peace with his neighbours, and being on the point of treating with the principality of *Patania*, had no longer anything to make him uneasy, except the presence of *Berckelangh* whom he had made *Oya Pouceloucq*. It was he who revealed to the King the design that the late King had of having him put to death, who risked his life so often to preserve that of the King when he was still *Oya Calahom*, and who by his courage, by his prudence and by his actions had been of the most use to him in the usurpation of Crown. In consequence his Majesty had solemnly promised him,

with the ceremonies that are customary among them, that on coming to the throne he would have him declared *Flyna* (Fai-na), that is to say, the Crown Prince of the Kingdom of Siam. That promise he did not keep, however, for he declared his brother *Flyna*, or heir presumptive of the Crown, making *Berckelanch Oya Souarcolouq* (Okya Swankhalok) and then Governor of *Pouceloucq*. And although in the Kingdom of Siam the government of provinces is given only to sons of the King, or to Princes of the blood, *Berckelanch* was not content with that dignity; nor did he omit to murmur against the action of the King and to bewail his ingratitude. Addressing himself even to the King, he pressed him often on this subject, urging that it was to his valour that he (the King) chiefly owed the royal dignity. The King did not deny it, but the thing was no longer entirely in his hands; since he could not, to the prejudice of his own brother, be prevailed on to call *Pouceloucq* to the succession of the Crown, promising, however, to regard him as the person in all the world to whom he was most obliged, and to advance him to the highest positions in the Kingdom.

But after the victory of *Licoon*, (Nakhon Lampang) of which *Berckelanch* had all the honour, his reputation, his civility and his conduct began to be not only suspected, but even so formidable to the Prince, brother of the King, that by means of the King's grandmother, their common mother and some flatterers, the latter gained over the King. This he did so successfully that, without having regard to the powerful obligations he owed to *Pouceloucq* or to the oaths they had taken about three months before, His Majesty caused him to be taken by force, the soles of his feet to be roasted, and his whole body loaded with irons, and then threw him into a filthy prison under the guardianship of *Oya Iumerat*, (Okya Yomarat) his declared enemy. His house was pillaged, his slaves, horses and elephants were made a prey, and his valuables were borne to the Palace. The King went to these extremes chiefly because some Mathematicians and Astrologers had said that *Pouceloucq* had at the moment of his birth so favourable a star in the ascendant that it promised him nothing less than sovereign power and a royal crown. Consequently seeing him to have gained authority and to be powerful, rich and wise, the King began to fear and to hate him.

When *Pouceloucq* found himself in this position, some priests advised his son to go and throw himself at the feet of the King, and

to claim his pity. This young noble was only nine years old, and he did not fail to intercede for his father in terms which touched the King so powerfully that he formally promised the child to have his father freed from prison that very day and sent home. But the outcome did not bear out these high hopes. For when the child had withdrawn, the King, who had become warm by drinking, asked *Iumerat* what he would advise him to do with *Pouceloucq*. *Iumerat*, who sought only to rid himself of his enemy, said that a serpent that has been nourished and brought up by some one from its youth, will not fail to bite him if he treads on its tail. The King was so pleased with his reply that he at once ordered *Iumerat* to have *Pouceloucq* put to death. At that moment *Iumerat* left the presence of the King, desiring not to lose the opportunity of ridding himself of his enemy. Meeting in the ante-chamber the priests who were waiting the result of the promises that the King had made to the son, he deceived them by saying that they had only to withdraw to their homes, because the King had absolved *Oya Pouceloucq*, and was going to set him free from his prison. But causing *Pouceloucq* to be taken at once from his dungeon, for fear that the King should change his mind and save him on the prayer of the priests, *Iumerat* inflicted with his own hand a mortal wound, giving him a blow with a dagger in the right side. Seeing that he must die, *Pouceloucq* passionately inveighed against the ingratitude, the perfidy and the cruelty of the King who, being obliged to him for his life and his crown, was causing him to die when he was guiltless, contrary to the oath that he had solemnly renewed a few months since. He further said that death caused him no fear, but that his greatest regret was not to have drawn his sword when his authority and his friends could have given him reason to hope for the Crown. He wished to say more, but *Iumerat* had him conducted to the place of execution and his body cut in three pieces. The priests burned them and put the ashes with those of the Prince. The King has often regretted this death, but at the same time he has reduced the wife to slavery, and has never permitted the son of the deceased to be brought up at the Court among his pages, but on the contrary has suffered the lad's relatives to give him a bare wherewithal to live.

Oya Iumerat, the executioner of *Oya Pouceloucq*, was brought up in his youth with the King, by the Queen mother, but in a lowly enough position, and he rendered very considerable services to his

Majesty in the usurpation of the Crown. As a reward for these services the King made him *Oya Sicry*, which is one of the first dignities of the Kingdom, and in this position he acquired a great reputation by his civility and by his liberality. In fact he thereby obtained the good-will of foreigners and Siamese alike to such a degree that the King began to be suspicious of his authority, but contented himself with fostering the jealousy that he saw between the nobles, and with curbing the authority of one by that of the other. At last *Oya Sicry* was accused of having conspired against the State and against the person of the King. He having given a dinner at his house to three Oyas, three Operas and two Oloanghs, they were accused of having boasted that they had friends and partisans enough to treat the King in the same fashion as he had treated the two or three last Kings, his predecessors, and they were further accused of having promised to establish *Oya Sicry* in the King's place. The King was warned of this and had him brought, together with all those who had dined with him, and examined them very closely. Then having reproached them with their treason, he mounted on an infuriated elephant with the intention of exposing them to the fury of that beast. It would have trampled them under foot but for the intercession of *Oya Pouceloucq*, who, representing to the King that he was putting his own life in danger, induced him to descend from the elephant; but it was only to seat himself on his throne and to command *Pouceloucq* to take *Sicry* and his accomplices and put them to death with his own hand. Seeing the King in so great a passion and his own life in the utmost peril, *Sicry* prayed *Pouceloucq* to save his life by his intercession. *Pouceloucq* spoke of it to the Queen mother and, some priests joining with her, together they obtained the pardon of the prisoners from the King. But the latter were shut up in a low den, and all the goods of *Sicry* given to pillage. In order that the temple which the King had built and his arsenal might not be also looted in the disorder of the pillage, since they were near the house of *Sicry*, the Oyas *Pouceloucq*, *Berekelangh* and *Pitterasia* (Phet Racha) got orders to have them guarded. In this matter *Pouceloucq* was unable to conceal the secret hatred that he bore to *Sicry*, in that he had the threshold of the door of his house pulled down, saying that he would not enter the house by a door where the traitor had passed. After *Sicry* had been a long time in prison, he vindicated himself as regards the crime of which he was accused by

the ordeal of fire. Consequently the King declared him innocent and caused to be restored to him his wives, his slaves, and what could be recovered of his property, making him *Oya Iumerat* the very day that *Oya Pouceloucq* was arrested and put under his guardianship. But *Iumerat* did not remember that he owed his life to his prisoner, and treated him in the manner that we have just related. This I have thought well to set forth in passing, in order to show the address of the King in using some to ruin others, for the purpose of ridding himself of those who would be able to repeat on his person what they had done for him against their legitimate Princes.

For the rest, in order to deprive the nobles, who might have such a wish, of every means of accomplishing it, the King has so curtailed the authority of the Mandarins, and reduced them to such subjection that there is not one who dares to dispense with going every day to Court and doing reverence to the King. Nor is it permitted to them any more to visit one another, or to speak when they meet, unless they do so aloud and in the presence of others, who can be witnesses as to what they say. Consequently by his severity the King deprives them of the means of conspiring against his person. He has a magnificent train and suite. All his ideas are vast. It is his pleasure to repair old buildings and to make new ones, but the Mandarins and the people are obliged to contribute to the cost, with the result that they are reduced to distress, which deprives them of the means of revolting. He changes so often the highest dignitaries of the Kingdom that there is not a noble who can be sure of what is his own, and the Governors of the Provinces and of the strongholds are obliged to remain in the town of *Iudia* and to be seen at Court every day, while their lieutenants discharge the duties of their posts. It is in this way that he secures his person and his throne, with the result that for several centuries there has not been a King in Siam who has been more dreaded than the present one.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS
OF
VAN VLIET'S HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF SIAM IN THE 17TH CENTURY.
by
FRANCIS H. GILES.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

When I undertook the task of writing a note on van Vliet's *Historical Account of Siam in the 17th Century*, it was my intention to deal with some of the incidents related by van Vliet only. As my examination of van Vliet's *Historical Account* proceeded, I found that a short note would not be sufficient to cover the whole ground, which included events in the reigns of four Kings and impinged on events which occurred in the reigns of earlier Kings. Although van Vliet in his *Historical Account* makes no reference to the *Treatise* he submitted to Philippe Lucas, Director of the Dutch East India Company in A. D. 1638, which has already been published in the Journal of the Siam Society in A. D. 1910, I found it convenient to examine this *Treatise* to ascertain whether I could gain any information which would help me to a better understanding of his *Historical Account*. The *Treatise* supplies much of what is missing in the *Historical Account*, and has, therefore, been most useful.

This study of the *Historical Account* and the *Treatise* induced me to turn to other sources of information to obtain evidence to support van Vliet's statements. The more I read, the further afield I had to go in search of information. My original intention of preparing a short note or critical analysis could not be sustained, and the plan has developed along two paths, a critical analysis and an attempt to reconstruct Siamese history. This became necessary, because Siamese history is silent regarding most of the happenings recorded by van Vliet in his two works. With this explanation I

trust the reader will forgive me for retaining the title, *A Critical Analysis of van Vliet's Historical Account of Siam in the 17th Century*.

The works which I have examined in order to obtain data to enable me to present a fairly complete and accurate picture of events relating to the political and economic position of Siam during the period between A. D. 1590 and 1767 are :—

- 1) H. R. H. Prince Paramanuchit's version of the History of Siam.
- 2) The Royal or Autograph version of the History of Siam.
- 3) Luang Prasert's copy of Siamese History.
- 4) H. R. H. Prince Narathipraphanphong's History of Burma.
- 5) A History of Burma entitled *The Hmannan Yazawindawgi*, also known as *The Glass Palace Chronicle*.
- 6) Nai Thien (Phra Phraison Salarak), *Burmese Invasions of Siam*.
- 7) H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Wars between Siam and Burma*.
- 8) Part III of *A Collection of Historical Data* (ประชุมพงษาวดาร), entitled *A History of Patani*.
- 9) Mr. C. A. S. Sewell's *Notes on some old Siamese Guns* published in the J. S. S. Vol XV, Part I (1922).
- 10) Part V of *A Collection of Historical Data* entitled *An Explanation of the Ayudhyan Dynasties*.
- 11) Part XX of *A Collection of Historical Data* entitled *Inter-course between Japan and Siam in the 17th Century*.
- 12) Francis Caron and Joost Schouten, *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*.
- 13) Sakae Miki, *The Exploits of Okya Senaphimocq* (Yamada Nagamasa), *the Japanese General in Siam in the Seventeenth Century*.
- 14) K. Gunji, *The correspondence between Tokugawa Shogunate and Siamese Kings at the beginning of the Tokugawa period*, J. S. S. Vol XXXIX, Part II 1937.
- 15) The Krom Sak Law (กรมศักดิ์) reputed to have been promulgated in the year L. E. 955 (A. D. 1593) by King Ekathosrot together with a list of titles.
- 16) David Murray, *Japan* (1919).
- 17) W. E. Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire* (1877).
- 18) Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century (National Library, Bangkok 1915).

19) Dutch Papers (National Library, Bangkok 1915).

My sincere thanks are due to my secretary, Nai Sin Chalermphao, who has not only helped me in writing the manuscript, but has given me valuable assistance in obtaining and examining many works of reference for me. Without this loyal service I would not have been able to bring this work to completion.

Francis H. Giles.

Bangkok, 30th November, 1937.

PART ONE.

Concerning the period when van Vliet was in Ayudhya.

(1) ABOUT VAN VLIET'S WORKS.

This paper is a critical analysis of a work written by Ieremie van Vliet in the year A.D. 1647, entitled *An Historical Account of Siam in the 17th Century*. This *Historical Account* was written in the Low Dutch language and published in Holland. It is generally believed that no copy of the original publication is extant, but I am told that there is a copy in the National Library at the Hague, and also that a photographic copy of this work was made and sent to the Taihok University in Formosa. However this may be, the English translation which is published in this Journal of the Siam Society was made by Mr. W. H. Mundie, a Vice-President of the Siam Society, in A. D. 1904 from a French translation of van Vliet's work, which was published as a Supplement to Herbert's *Relation du Voyage de Perse et des Indes Orientales*, published in Paris in A. D. 1663.

Before van Vliet wrote his *Historical Account of Siam in the 17th Century* in A. D. 1647, he had already written in A. D. 1638 at Batavia by order of the late Director Philippe Lucas, a *Treatise* giving an exact description of the position of this Kingdom, of the natives in this nation, of their religion, and of the state of their political government. This is what van Vliet tells us in his *Historical Account*. Philippe Lucas was a Director of the Dutch East India Company.

Mr. L. F. van Ravenswaay, a member of the Siam Society, translated a book written by van Vliet entitled *Description of the Kingdom of Siam, and the Account of the Origin, the political government, the distinctive characteristics, the religion, the manner of living of the nobles and common people, the commerce and other remarkable things concerning the Kingdom of Siam*. This translation was published in the Journal of the Siam Society, vol. VII, part 1 (1910). Ravenswaay admits that this book was published after the author's death. Is this book a copy of the *Treatise* written at the order of Philippe Lucas or not? I am inclined to think that it is the same work, for it deals with matters which occurred in Siam before A. D. 1638, and bears a title similar to that of the *Treatise*.

In writing my critical analysis or reviews of the *Historical Account*, I have had to rely on this other book written by van Vliet in order to elucidate certain obscure points; and when I have to refer to this book in my critical analysis, I shall for the sake of brevity call it the *Treatise*.

(2) WHEN WAS VAN VLIET IN AYUDHYA AND WHAT
WAS HIS POSITION THERE ?

We learn from Ravenswaay's translation of the *Treatise* that the Dutch East India Company established a depôt in A. D. 1602 at Patani, and the next year Daniel van der Leck, the chief of that station, paid a visit to Siam with the result that in A. D. 1604 he sent Cornelius Speex to establish a depôt at Ayudhya. Several managers succeeded each other. Ravenswaay tells us that van Vliet's immediate predecessor was Joost Schouten, who was manager from A. D. 1624 to 1629, and that van Vliet had charge of the Dutch East India Company's interests in Siam from A. D. 1629 to 1634. Sir Ernest Satow in his *Notes on the Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the 17th Century* says that van Vliet succeeded Joost Schouten as manager in A. D. 1636, but does not tell us when he left Siam. Joost Schouten, sometimes referred to in official documents as Joosten van Schouten, is an important link in the question as to when van Vliet was really in Siam. Joost Schouten wrote a book in A. D. 1636 entitled *A Description of the Government, Might, Religion, Customs, Traffick, and other remarkable Affairs in the Kingdom of Siam*. I have examined this work and find that he says he was in charge of the Dutch trading interests in Ayudhya for four years, and resided in the chief city for eight years; but, unfortunately, he does not give us any dates. I find in the *Treatise*, van Vliet mentions that Joost Schouten was the first representative of the Dutch East India Company in Siam, from A. D. 1624 to 1629, and that he himself (van Vliet) spent five years in Siam. This statement that Joost Schouten was the first representative of the Dutch East India Company in Siam is obviously wrong. The first representative, according to Ravenswaay, was Cornelius Speex. Van Vliet, who must have been in the employ of the Dutch East India Company for many years, could not possibly have made the mistake of saying that Schouten was the first representative in Siam in the sense of being the first manager. These Dutch representatives were not only merchants or traders looking after the commercial interests of their

employer, but were political envoys and delegates, for we find that when the Dutch East India Company was in high favour with King Prasat Thong, Schouten took his place amongst the noblemen at the King's audiences. Van Vliet meant to impress on the reader that Joost Schouten was the first or chief representative of the Company in Ayudhya from A. D. 1624 to 1629, or it is possible that he meant that Joost Schouten's first period of service as representative extended from A. D. 1624 to 1629, that is, five years. I find in *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico Indicum* vol I No. CXVIII pp. 284-285, (published by the National Library, Bangkok, 1907, in *Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century*) the following statement: "Our first dealings with Siam date already from 1604, when Admiral Wigbrand van Waerwijck, during his stay at Patani, sent Cornelis Speex as envoy to the ruler of the said Kingdom." It will be noticed that the word "envoy" is used. It therefore seems probable that Cornelius Speex, after negotiating a trading arrangement with the King of Siam, opened the Dutch depôt in Ayudhya. It also appears from the same document that the depôt or factory was given up in A. D. 1622, but trade relations were maintained and courtesies exchanged. We also learn that Schouten was appointed director of Dutch trading interests in Siam in A. D. 1633 and held that dignity till A. D. 1636. The *Dagh Register*, called the *Dutch Papers* by the National Library, Bangkok, records that Schouten arrived in Batavia on the 27th April 1636, having travelled from Siam on board the *Dämon*. Schouten submitted a Report in writing which was handed to the Governor General and his Council in which he stated that he had handed over all the Company's means to van Vliet. It is now clear that van Vliet took over charge early in A. D. 1636 and not 1629 as stated by Ravenswaay. The depôt was given up in A. D. 1622, and as Schouten was the representative of the Company from A. D. 1624 to 1629, it is but reasonable to assume that the depôt was reopened in A. D. 1624. It is a curious fact that neither the *Record of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century* nor the *Dutch Papers* make any reference to matters between A. D. 1628 and 1631. We know from many sources that great disorders prevailed during this period, so it may be that Schouten closed the depôt down early in A. D. 1629. In the *Dagh Register*, page 97, we find an entry dated 29th November 1641 recording the

fact that van Vliet had left Ayudhya in March of that year, and that the merchant, Reynier van Tzum, had carried on the Company's business and negotiations with some success.

The question as to when Joost van Schouten and Ieremias van Vliet were in charge of Dutch interests in Ayudhya is now clear. Schouten was in charge from A. D. 1624 to 1629 and again from A. D. 1633 to the beginning of 1636, altogether a period of eight years. Van Vliet was in charge from about February 1636 to March 1641, a period of five years. Van Vliet's connection with Siam, however, had not ceased in March 1641. He returned to Ayudhya in September 1641 as a delegate or ambassador from the Prince of Orange and the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies. He carried letters and gifts from the Prince and the Governor General to King Prasat Thong. Van Vliet arrived in the Menam river on the 23rd September 1641 and immediately proceeded to Ayudhya. He had several audiences with the King, but could not obtain letters from the King in reply to those which he had brought. Van Vliet had a farewell audience of the King on the 20th December, bade farewell to the noblemen and gave final instructions to the then chief merchant, van Tzum, on the 28th, leaving Ayudhya on that day on board the warship *Heemskerck*. This vessel left the anchorage on the last day of December and sailed for ports in the gulf of Siam, where van Vliet had some business to execute. Van Vliet returned to Batavia on the 28th of May 1642 on board this ship.

Van Vliet henceforth rose to high position in the service of the Company. He became Governor of Malacca and eventually was given a seat on the Council of the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies. He was in Malacca on the 13th October 1644, when he gave certain information regarding the quarrel between the King of Queda and the King of Siam to Governor Arnold Heussen. This is the last reference to van Vliet in the *Record of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries* etc. and the *Dagh Register*.

In van Vliet's *Historical Account* is found the following passage :

"The King made peace and alliances with all the Indian Princes and with all the Kings and States that are known in the Indies. And although he had expelled and maltreated the Japanese, he did not fail to make them come back some time after, or to send his ambassadors to Japan, in order to make a treaty with that powerful Emperor of a very considerable part of the Orient. That ambassa-

dor was the bearer of a letter written in characters of gold, and of several splendid presents. But in as much as he had not yet come back when I left India two years ago, I can say nothing as to the success of his negotiations."

This *Historical Account* was written in the year A. D. 1647. The only interpretation that can be put on the wording of this sentence is that van Vliet was in Ayudhya in A. D. 1645. Van Vliet is so accurate regarding what he says that I think he must have been sent to Ayudhya on some special mission by the Governor General in the same way as he was employed in A. D. 1642. It is unfortunate that the *Dagh Register* only records events up to A. D. 1642, and the *Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries*, etc. is silent regarding the affairs of the Company between A. D. 1645 and 1648; in fact, there is only one reference to Siam between the years A. D. 1645 and 1653.

It has now been established beyond doubt that van Vliet assumed charge of Dutch interests in Ayudhya about February 1636, and as he referred to many events in his *Historical Account* which happened prior to that year, one is caused to think that he had some connection with Siam before he took up residence in the Capital. Van Vliet is referred to as Captain van Vliet which proves that he was in command of one of the ships of the Dutch fleet. Schouten reported to the Dutch East India Company that when he was in the Menam on the *Wapen van Delft* on the 13th June (1634) he met the flyboat *van Velsen* which had arrived on the 3rd, and on her way captured two vessels with a cargo of pepper, pitch and cotton. The *Velsen* had called at Sengorah where she found the Siamese army and fleet, which Captain van Vliet had understood to be in Patani. This statement shows that van Vliet was in Ayudhya in A. D. 1634, and as the Dutch ships voyaged extensively in the Eastern seas, it seems probable that van Vliet as an officer of one of these ships visited Siam many times prior to A. D. 1634. However this may be, van Vliet was a friend of Schouten, who had been in the country for many years and could therefore learn from him about the happenings in that country. Furthermore, it is clear that a Daily Journal recording all events was kept in all the offices of the Dutch East India Company, and van Vliet, who rose to high position, had ready access to all these journals or diaries. I myself have made use of the same papers.

PART TWO.

Concerning the birth of Phra Ong Lai (King Prasat Thong).

As van Vliet's *Historical Account* is to some extent a biography of King Prasat Thong, it seems well to state the family history of this remarkable man. Van Vliet tells us that he was known as Phra Ong Lai, and was a son of Okya Sri Thamathirat, who was a scion of the Royal House, and the elder brother of the mother of Prince Intha Racha, who afterwards became King Song Tham. This lady was a wife of King Ekathosrot. Some historians give the name of Prince Intha Racha as Intrathit (อินทราทิตย์). I think that Intha Racha is correct. Some writers hold that Phra Ong Lai was born in A. D. 1600, i. e. in the year of the Rat B. E. 2143. H. R. H. Prince Damrong, in his record of the Wars between Siam and Burma, says that there is a tradition extant about the birth of Phra Ong Lai. The story is that Prince Ekathosrot, a brother of the Great King Naresuan, when holding the office of Crown Prince, happened to go down the river towards Bang-pa-in. A storm arose, and the Prince's boat capsized. He swam ashore, and took refuge from the inclemency of the weather in a house of one of the villagers. A maiden of the village was given to him, and this young woman in due course gave birth to a son. This boy was Phra Ong Lai. When Phra Ong Lai became King, he did honour to his mother by building a temple known as Wat Chumphon Nikayaram (วัดชุมพลนิกายาราม) on the site of his mother's house. He also caused a pavilion to be erected on the island as a place of temporary residence.

In Siamese history we are told that King Prasat Thong built, on the site of his mother's house, a grand pagoda, having a terrace or gallery round its base, and that at each of the four corners he caused to be erected four votive chambers together with a preaching hall, a library and houses for the priests. This temple was given the name of Chai Watanaram (วัดไชยวัฒนาราม). One is led to believe that this building was erected in Ayudhya. It is possible that King Prasat Thong built two temples, one at Bang-pa-in in memory of his real mother, and the other at Ayudhya in memory of his foster mother, the wife of Okya Sri Thamathirat, who was a brother of one of King Ekathosrot's concubines and mother of King Song Tham.

The Bang-pa-in story, if correct, would prove that Phra Ong Lai was born during the reign of King Naresuan. The story related by

van Vliet may be true, but knowing the casual way in which the Thai people speak of relationship, I am inclined to think that the Bang-pa-in tradition is worthy of credence. Prince Ekathosrot, wishing to hide his connection with the country girl, would naturally place his son under the care of the brother of his wife. Phra Ong Lai would therefore be the foster and not the real son of Okya Sri Thamathirat.

A similar instance arose during the reign of King Narayana. This King, when waging war on Chiangmai, sacked the town. All the daughters of the King, the Princes and the noblemen, became the booty of the victorious monarch. These girls were distributed among the officers of the army, the King taking as his share a daughter of the King of Chiangmai. This young woman in due course became pregnant. The King, being ashamed of what he had done and fearing the taunts and jeers of the ladies of his palace, handed the young woman while still pregnant over to the care of a powerful nobleman, Phra Phet Racha, holding office in Suphanburi. Some time later the King made a Royal progress to Phitsnulok. Phra Phet Racha and the Chiangmai Princess were in his retinue. At a place near Pichitr called Ban Pho Pratab-chang (บ้านโพธิ์ประทับช้าง) the Princess gave birth to a son, who was named Dūa (เดื่อ). Some years later the King admitted his parentage to the boy, who, after knowing that the King was his father, became proud and overbearing. He was raised to the rank of Luang Sorasak, and rendered personal service to the King. It was he who headed the revolution when his father was dying, and put to death some members of the royal House and many noblemen, including Constantine Phaulkon (Chao Phya Wichayen). He placed his foster father, Phra Phet Racha, on the throne and, eventually, succeeded him as King under the style and title of Phra Chao Sūa (พระเจ้าเสือ). He was indeed a tiger, for he was a man of the most cruel nature. Many acts of diabolical cruelty stand to his credit. This King also built a temple on the spot where he was born, which to-day is still known as Wat Pho Pratabchang (วัดโพธิ์ประทับช้าง).

Having digressed from the main theme, I will now return to the story of Phra Ong Lai. This boy was high spirited, courageous and ambitious. He always took the leading part in games with his friends and in dissolute frolics. He was educated in Wat Ra-Khang, a monastery in which members of the royal House were apt to take

on the yellow robe in order to escape violence at the hands of the King owing to suspicion of their loyalty. Prince Intha Racha was a Buddhist priest in this temple during the reign of his brother, Sri Saowaphak. With Phra Ong Lai, then Cha-mün Sri Sorarak, and some other noblemen who were dissatisfied with the conduct of that King he conspired in a plot to depose him. The plot succeeded, and the King was put to death. Phra Ong Lai, a young man of twenty years of age, played a leading part in this drama, and it was, probably, his first appearance in the political arena, where he remained for the next thirty six years. Phra Ong Lai, when thirteen years of age, was given the rank of Hum Phrae (หุ้มแพร) and put in charge of a section of the Corps of Pages, and when sixteen, promoted to be Cha-mün Sri Sorarak, head of that Corps. He was always in trouble arising from his bad conduct, and frequently imprisoned. The punishment meted out to him undoubtedly planted in his mind the need of a desire for revenge against the royal House. Phra Ong Lai suffered severe punishment on three occasions for offences committed by him against the prestige of the King, and the honour and life of Prince Sri Sin (พระศรีศิลป์). The first offence was, probably committed during the lifetime of his father, Ekathosrot, when he, with some companions in a drunken frolic, assaulted the nobleman appointed by the King to perform the ceremony of the First Ploughing. His second offence, committed in the reign of King Song Tham, was against the honour of Prince Sri Sin, for we know from van Vliet that he debauched the wives of this Prince, and not content with this dishonourable act, he went so far as to enter into a plot with four or five noblemen, his bosom friends, to murder Prince Sri Sin. It is probable that the punishment he suffered brought his desire for revenge against the royal House to a head, and this was the propelling impulse or animus which actuated every act of his life. When King Song Tham was dying, Cha-mün Sri Sorarak, who had then become Okya Sri Worawong, gladly acquiesced in the King's desire to place his son on the throne, because he knew that, if Prince Sri Sin succeeded, his life would be forfeit. There is a possibility that Okya Sri Worawong poisoned King Song Tham. The King's illness entered on a state of collapse or exhaustion just before his death. The action of Okya Sri Worawong, in taking steps to prevent any one approaching the King and holding the palace with soldiers,

gives colour to this suspicion. When King Chetthathirat was about to be executed, according to van Vliet, he upbraided Okya Kalahom in these words: "You have come into the world in order to be the ruin of this Kingdom, for you put my father to death by poison, and, by your intrigues, you caused the Prince, (Phra Sri Sin) my uncle, to perish lamentably".

H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab apparently accepted van Vliet's statement that Phra Ong Lai was a son of Okya Sri Thamathirat, for he discusses this point in his work *The Wars between Siam and Burma*. Prince Damrong goes a step further, and is inclined to think that King Song Tham was the son of the Bang-pa-in village maiden, whom the King took into the palace as a concubine, and on whose relations he showered favours. Van Vliet, however, makes it clear that the mother of King Song Tham was a sister of Okya Sri Thamathirat, and not the Bang-pa-in maiden. It is difficult for me to accept the Prince's reasoning, for the Bang-pa-in tradition relates specifically to the birth of Phra Ong Lai, and not the birth of Song Tham. It would be impossible for Okya Sri Thamathirat to be a brother of the Bang-pa-in girl, for we know that he was a member of the royal House, and therefore of the blood royal. I have given my understanding of this question in the beginning of this part. Van Vliet tells us what happened in the subsequent career of Phra Ong Lai.

PART THREE.

Concerning the dates of accession and death of certain Kings.

(1) DATES OF ACCESSION AND DEATH OF KINGS IN TABULATED FORM ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES.

Siamese history, regarding the events which took place from the reign of Ekathosrot to that of Prasat Thong, is practically a blank. It is sterile; it is silent. The dates of accession and death of the Kings are wrong and therefore misleading. H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab has attempted to put these dates right, relying on data collected from Luang Prasert's copy of Siamese history. (This official, in later years, became Phya Pariyat Thamathada, a noted scholar). The Prince also gained much valuable information on this subject from the works and letters of foreigners who had lived in Siam. As I am only concerned with the period from the reign of King Naresuan to that of King Prasat Thong, I will give the dates as recorded in the Paramanuchit and Royal Version of the history of Siam, and the corrected dates as given by H. R. H. Prince Damrong in a note entitled *An Explanation of the Ayudhyan Dynasties* published in Part V of *A Collection of Historical Data*, as well as the dates which I believe to be correct.

TABLE I.

Name of King	Date Paramanuchit Version		Date Royal Version		Corrected Date H. R. H. Prince Damrong		Author's suggested Date	
	Accession	Death	Accession	Death	Accession	Death	Accession	Death
Naresuan ..	1578	1593	1578	1593	1590	1605	1590	1605
Ekathosrot ..	1593	1601	1593	1601	1605	1620	1605	1620
Sri Saowaphak ..	1601	1602	1601	1602	1620	1620	1620	1620
Song Tham ..	1602	1627	1602	1627	1620	1628	1620	1628
Chetthathirat ..	1627	1629	1627	1629	1630	1631	1628	1629
Athityawong ..	1629	1637	1629	1637	1630	1630	1629	1629
Prasat Thong ..	1630	1655	1630	1655	1630	1655	1629	1656

This table shows certain differences regarding the dates of accession and death of these monarchs as well as the length of their reigns. The corrected dates given by Prince Damrong for the reign of Chethathirat are undoubtedly wrong, and this error may be due to careless compilation. The date of the accession of Chethathirat should be A. D. 1628, for his father died in April of that year, and he was executed about September 1629. The reigns of Athityawong and Prasat Thong should be put back to A. D. 1629 for all the data at our disposal goes to prove that Athityawong was dethroned in November 1629. My amendments to Prince Damrong's dates probably make the table correct, for they are based on evidence derived from the works of contemporaneous writers.

According to Prince Paramanuchit, these reigns covered a period of seventy-seven years, which agrees with the Royal Version. The corrected dates as published in Part V of *A Collection of Historical Data* only covers a period of 65 years. This means that if we accept the corrected dates, the accessions of King Naresuan and Ekathosrot will have to be put forward twelve years, i. e. one cycle of the zodiacal year, and that of King Sri Saowaphak, eighteen years. This advance in dates, naturally, requires a revision of the length of each reign. In order to see where the difference in the length of each reign occurs, I place the following figures before the readers.

TABLE II.

Name of King	Length of the reigns			
	Paramanuchit Version	Royal Version	Prince Damrong's Corrected Version	Author's Version
Naresuan	15	15	15	15
Ekathosrot ..	8	8	15	15
Sri Saowaphak ..	1	1	1	1
Song Tham ..	25	25	9	9
Chethathirat ..	1 year and 7 months	1 year and 7 months	1	1 year and 6 months
Athityawong ..	6 months	6 months	36 days	36 days
Prasat Thong ..	26	26	25	26

As the first table shows that a revision of Siamese history demands an advance in the dates of the accession of some of the Kings, so the second table shows a difference in the number of years reigned,—notably in the case of Ekathosrot, the length of whose reign must be increased from eight to fifteen years, and that of Song Tham which must be reduced from twenty-five years to nine. A careful reader of these tables may enquire why the death of King Athityawong in the first table is given as having occurred in A. D. 1637, some eight years after his accession, whereas he is supposed to have reigned for only six months. Siamese history, both in the Paramanuchit and the Royal Version, place on record that Prince Athityawong ascended the throne in the year of the Little Era 992 (A. D. 1630) and, having reigned for six months, it was found that being a child, he could not bear the responsibility of a crown, and he was dethroned by the Council of Ministers, and Okya Kalahom crowned King under the title of Prasat Thong in his place. The young Prince was kept in the palace to be educated. In the year A. D. 1633, when the King was engaged in inspecting some new structural work, he noticed Prince Athityawong sitting on a wall with his legs dangling down high above the King's head. No one must be above the King's head, and this act of the young Prince so enraged the King that he commanded the young Prince should be removed from the palace and made to take up his residence in a small bamboo hut with two servants outside the palace. The boy lived in this mean state for four years; then having gathered around himself a number of dissatisfied nobles, he, with a force of three hundred men, attacked the palace. King Prasat Thong was taken unawares, but managed to escape. He commanded his ministers and troops to seize the Prince. A fight took place in which many were killed and the Prince made prisoner. He was then executed (Little Era 999: A. D. 1637). Van Vliet tells us nothing of this, but says that the Prince sat on the throne for thirty-six days, and was taken from the college in which he was wearing the Buddhist robes and executed. This statement of van Vliet may mean that King Athityawong, having been on the throne for thirty-six days, was found to be so childish that he was dethroned and placed in a Wat for his education, from whence he was taken some time later and executed. If my understanding of van Vliet's statements is correct, it would agree in some small measure with Siamese history, but the period between the vacation of the throne

and the execution could not have been seven years, but may have been a few months.

As van Vliet was in Ayudhya a few years after the time in which these events occurred, and had the advantage of discussing the matter with Siamese noblemen and servants of the Dutch East India Company, it is probable that his story is the more correct version of what took place.

(2) SOME EVIDENCE REGARDING THE DATES OF ACCESSION
AND DEATH OF THESE SEVEN KINGS.

1. *An explanation of Siamese Chronology.*

Siamese calculations of time were based on the zodiacal *nak-satr* (นักษัตร) year, and it was the use of this method which makes it difficult to state accurately the year in which any event occurred. Even to-day one finds the greatest difficulty in ascertaining the age of any elderly person. Such a person will tell you that he was born in, say, *pi chaloo* (ปีฉลู), the year of the Ox, but unless one knows the denary number of the year in the Little Era or *Chula-sakaraaj* (จุลศักราช) one cannot fix the year of his birth. The present year is the year of the Ox, so this man may have completed his seventy-second or sixtieth year, but when one knows the denary number as expressed in the Little Era, then his age can be fixed definitely. It is due to this system that Siamese historians have made many mistakes when attempting to fix a particular date for a particular event. They may know the zodiacal year but not the year of the Little Era, and this leads to mistakes. King Naresuan, according to Siamese history is stated to have ascended the throne on the death of his father, Somdet Phra Maha Thamaracha, on Tuesday, the 2nd waning of the twelfth month of the L. E. 940, the year of the Tiger (A.D. 1578). Now the year L. E. 940 was the year of the Tiger and the tenth year of the denary cycle, but we know from other reliable evidence that King Naresuan really ascended the throne in the year of the Little Era 952, also the year of the Tiger, but the second year of the denary. It would therefore seem that one of those mistakes in calculation, referred to by me, has been made. Siamese historians knew that he became King in the year of the Tiger, but nothing else.

We have another example of the inaccuracy of Siamese dates. According to Siamese history King Narayana died on Thursday, the third waning of the fifth month of the year of the Little Era 1044, being the fourth year of the denary in the year of the Dog. Now the year L. E. 1044 agrees with A. D. 1682. We know, however, from the writings of Europeans that the King died in A. D. 1688. Thus there is an error of six years.

2. *The fall of Ayudhya taken as a basic point from which to fix the date of accession of King Naresuan.*

It is necessary, for the purpose of fixing a date on which any particular event occurred about which there is some doubt, to have a basic point to start from. The first fall of Ayudhya was an important event. I will, therefore, take this event as the basic point for fixing the date of the accession and death of King Naresuan and his successors.

Siamese history tells us that Ayudhya fell into the hands of Bureng Nong Kyawdin Nawratha on Saturday the eleventh waning of the ninth month of the year of the Little Era 918 (A. D. 1556) and that the Burmese conqueror crowned his ally, Somdet Phra Maha Thamaracha, as King Regent to govern Siam in his name on Friday, the sixth waxing of the first month of the same Siamese year which would synchronise with January 1557. The year of the Little Era 918 was the year of the Great Serpent. Siamese history tells us that this King Regent reigned for twenty-two years, and that he was succeeded by his son, Naresuan, in the year of the Little Era 940, being the year of the Tiger.

H. R. H. Prince Narathipraphanphong, in his work entitled *History of Burma*, places on record that Ayudhya was captured on Tuesday, the fourth waning of the ninth month of the Little Era 937 (A. D. 1575). This is obviously wrong, for it is not supported by Burmese History.

A Burmese history, known as the *Glass Palace Chronicle* or *Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi* compiled by a select committee composed of learned monks, scholars and historians appointed by King Bagyidaw of Burma in A. D. 1829, gives us another date. This Committee, which examined and studied all existing histories, including the Yazawin Dawgyi Chronicles, local traditions and inscriptions, came to the conclusion that Ayudhya was captured by the

Burmese forces on Tuesday, the fourth waning of the month Wagaung of the year of the Little Era 931 (A. D. 1569). This date in the month of Wagaung may synchronise with the latter portion of August or the beginning of September. This same history records that Somdet Phra Maha Thamaracha, the Prince of Song Khwae, (Phitsnulok) was crowned King of Siam on Wednesday, the fifth waning of the month Thadingyut L. E. 931 (A. D. 1569). This month is the one which denotes the completion of the period of Lent, and is the one in which the Kathin (กฐิน) gifts are presented to the monks (October). The Burmese word Thadingyut is the equivalent of Thot-Kathin (ທုတ်ကັດ) in Siamese. The King of Burma left Ayudhya sixteen days after the coronation of the new King, his vassal. This history does not tell us when King Somdet Phra Maha Thamaracha died. It is evident, however, that this King reigned at peace with his suzerain till A. D. 1584. In that year Prince Naresuan, whom Burmese history already called the King of Siam, was commanded by the King of Burma to bring an army to Hongswadi to assist in the war with Ava. King Naresuan adopted dilatory tactics, arriving outside the city of Hongswadi (Pegu) some time after his overlord had left to attack Ava. King Naresuan is stated to have behaved as though he had the intention of attacking Hongswadi, which was hastily put in a state of defence by the Crown Prince of Burma. King Naresuan, hearing that the King of Burma had been successful in the war against Ava and was returning to his capital, withdrew his troops from Hongswadi and returned to Siam by the Mautama route. On the way he collected together as many of the Siamese families as had been made captives of war in A. D. 1564 and 1569, as well as a large number of Mon families, and took them to Ayudhya. He was followed in his retreat by a Burmese army. When he came to the frontier he is supposed to have declared the independence of Siam with the customary ceremony of pouring lustral water on the earth. Siam was not left in peace, for the Burmese sent several armies to crush the rebellious vassal, but without success. One of these armies was led by the King of Burma himself. The last attack was made in A. D. 1587. During this period of war, Burmese history gives Prince Naresuan the title of King of Siam. It was not till A. D. 1593 that Burma made a last attempt to crush Siam. In that year the Crown Prince of Burma led a vast army to Ayudhya, outside the walls of which city he was attacked by King Naresuan and defeated. The

Crown Prince lost his life in this battle, and the Burmese army retreated, suffering severe losses.

It is curious that this history should record the coronation of the Prince of Song Khwae, but make no reference to his death. Reading this history, one is led to believe that Prince Naresuan was already King in A. D. 1584. We know, however, that he did not become King till A. D. 1590, so it may be that King Somdet Phra Maha Thamaracha had, owing to his great age, entrusted the affairs of state to his active and brave son or it may be that Prince Naresuan, who was the Maha Uparacha, was known to the Burmese as the Second King and, therefore, called King by them.

H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, in Part V. of *A Collection of Historical Data*, in a note called *An Explanation of the Ayudhyan Dynasties*, states that Somdet Phra Maha Thamaracha was crowned King in the year of the Little Era 931 (A. D. 1569), the year of the Little Serpent, and that he reigned for twenty-one years, dying on Sunday) the thirteenth waning of the eighth month of the year of the Little Era 952, the year of the Tiger (A. D. 1590). He was succeeded by his son, Naresuan, in that year. Prince Damrong supplements this information in his work, *Wars between Siam and Burma*, in which he tells us that King Somdet Phra Maha Thamaracha was crowned on Friday, the sixth waxing of the twelve month B. E. 2112 (November 1569) of the year of the Little Serpent, and that he died on Sunday, thirteenth waning of the eighth month B. E. 2133, (A. D. 1590,) the year of the Tiger. Prince Damrong does not give us any data to support these specific dates; but I think he must have obtained them from Phra Phraison Sararak's works, translated from the *Glass Palace Chronicle* entitled *Burmese Invasions of Siam*, which was published in the Journal of the Siam Society.

A close examination of the dates given in Burmese history and by Prince Damrong proves that King Naresuan ascended the throne in A. D. 1590. Now how can we bring Siamese history into accord with this evidence? Siamese history states that Somdet Phra Maha Thamaracha was crowned in January 1557 and that he reigned for twenty-two years, which will bring us to A. D. 1578, i. e. L. E. 940, the year of the Tiger. We are thus short by twelve years, a cycle of the zodiacal year. As I have pointed out, Siamese calculations of time are apt to be wrong by a cycle, and I think the mistake in the year as given in Siamese history is due to this cause. If we take twenty-

two years as the length of the reign, about which there can be little doubt, and add on twelve years for the missing cycle we obtain thirty-four years, which, added to the year of accession (January) 1557, brings us to 1590, for it should be remembered that the number of years of a reign are calculated according to the dates of the years reached, and not according to a year of twelve months. Thus if a King ascended the throne in December 1800 and died in January 1820 he would have reigned for twenty-one years. For this reason I think Prince Damrong is in error when he says that Somdet Phra Maha Thamaracha reigned for twenty-one years, for as we are using Siamese chronology and methods it would be twenty-two years in agreement with Siamese history. Ayudhya surrendered to the same King, Bureng Kyawdin Nawrata, in March 1564, and Siam became a vassal state of Burma from that date. Siam rebelled against Burma some time later, and this led to the war which ended in the removal of the then reigning royal House and the appointment of the King Regent Somdet Phra Maha Thamaracha, which reign I take as a basic point for establishing the year of the accession of King Naresuan. That year was A. D. 1590.

Siamese history records that King Naresuan reigned for fifteen years and that he died at Muang Hang Luang (เมืองท่าหลวง), when leading a military expedition to attack Ava, and that he died at this place in the year of the Little Era 955, still short by a cycle of the zodiacal year, for he really died in the year L. E. 967. Burmese history corroborates this date L. E. 967 (A. D. 1605), and it gives the place at which he died, namely, Hin Myo. Now Hin Myo is no other place than Muang Hang. The word Myo in Burmese is Muang in Siamese, and the word Hin in Burmese is Hang in Siamese. The Burmese write the word Hang correctly, but they pronounce the word Hin quite differently from the written character. Prince Damrong accepts L. E. 967 (A. D. 1605) as the year in which King Naresuan died, and there can be but little doubt that this is right. This date is supported by a Report to the English East India Company of which an extract is given in Paragraph 3.

3. Dates of accession of succeeding Kings.

King Naresuan, having died in A. D. 1605, was succeeded by his brother Ekathosrot. There is much evidence to prove the years during which King Ekathosrot was on the throne. We know that

he commenced his reign in A. D. 1605 and that the Shogun of Japan sent a personal letter to him through the agency of two foreign officials in A. D. 1606. Diplomatic letters continued to come from Japan till A. D. 1610, and King Ekathosrot sent a Siamese embassy to Japan in A. D. 1616. We find in the *Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century*, many entries of considerable value relating to the foreign relations of Siam. In A. D. 1607 King Ekathosrot despatched an embassy to Holland not only for the purpose of cementing friendly relations with that country and developing commerce, but also to study the technique of building foundries and to obtain handicraftsmen. Some difficulties arose at Bantam about conveying the members of the embassy to Holland, but we learn from a letter of the King of Portugal to his Viceroy in Goa that this mission was taken to Holland by the Dutch.

In A. D. 1612 the King of England sent a friendly letter to the King of Siam asking for the right of free trade, which was granted. This letter was brought by the captain of an English ship and a merchant Mr. Adam, both of whom had an audience of the King Ekathosrot on the 29th September 1612. It is evident from the *Records etc.* that King Ekathosrot was in communication with the Viceroy of Goa in A. D. 1607 regarding the Portuguese request to be allowed to fortify Martaban. These negotiations were protracted. In January 1618, the King of Portugal wrote to his Viceroy about this matter. In A. D. 1618 the King sent an embassy to the King of Portugal, but for certain reasons did not get beyond Goa. The members of this mission were sent back to Siam under the care of Joas de Silva.

Regarding the date of the death of King Ekathosrot, I find a reference to this in a letter dated 4th October 1620, written at Singora by Jan van Hasell. It refers to the attempts of the English to negotiate a commercial treaty with Siam and the manœuvres of the Dutch to frustrate the attempt. In this letter the writer speaks of the illness of the old King (undoubtedly King Ekathosrot) and the incapacity of the young one (Sri Saowaphak) to rule the noblemen and mandarins as being the cause of the deterioration of the Chinese trade. The statement in this letter about the illness of the old King causes one to understand that King Ekathosrot died early in A. D. 1620. This date can now be accepted as correct, because a report, making

a survey of the trading prospects in Siam, submitted to the English East India Company, gives us A. D. 1605 as the year in which King Naresuan died, and A. D. 1620 as the year in which the White King died. It is fortunate for historians that this document, though much damaged, is still in existence, and that the writer refers to the King who died in A. D. 1620 as the White King. King Naresuan was known as the Black King on account of his swarthy complexion, and his brother, Ekathosrot, as the White King because of his fair skin. I see from a note, printed at the end of this document, that it is believed to have been written in A. D. 1622, because it makes a reference to the troubles with Cambodia. The year in which this report was written is of some importance, because the writer uses the words "his second son inherits, who now lives." The second son referred to here may be either Sri Saowaphak or Intha Racha. The White King's first son, Prince Suthat, died in A. D. 1612, and the writer may have been ignorant of this fact, and if this was the case Prince Intha Racha would be the second son, and thus the King living, when this report was written, alleged to be A. D. 1622, would be Song Tham.

The following is the extract from this report :

"The Description of Siam.

Siam many years ago, it seems, hath been a famous Kingdom, bearing rule over others, ever being in good credit with the King of China, which Kingdom received their Laws and religion from Siam; so confessed by their mutual sending of presents every three years each to the other. The King of Siam Raja Api (or the Fire King) died 1605, whom his brother (called the White King) did succeed. He died also 1620, and his second son inherits, who now lives, and upon whom many Kings do make wars and do hope to put him out of his Throne. Hereby we may see the dangerous state whereunto Siam is now brought, and the hazard which we do bear in those places." (*Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century*, Vol. I, page 139).

King Ekathosrot was succeeded by his son Sri Saowaphak. Siamese history records that he reigned for one year and two months, but there is some reason to doubt this. As King Ekathosrot died in A. D. 1620, then it is probable that King Sri Saowaphak was executed in the latter half of that year.

King Sri Saowaphak was succeeded by King Song Tham. The date of his accession and the length of his reign as given in Siamese history is at variance with van Vliet's statement in his *Historical Account*, though the years of his death as given in the two records practically agree. Siamese history states that King Song Tham took over the reins of government in the year L. E. 964 (A. D. 1602), and that he reigned for twenty-six years, dying in the year of the Rabbit, L. E. 990. Van Vliet tells us that this King reigned for about nine years, which, according to European computation, would be a little more than eight full years. As this King died in April A. D. 1628, it is certain that he ascended the throne in A. D. 1620. There is an error in Siamese history of eighteen years, and this is due to a miscalculation of twelve years, one cycle of the zodiacal year as already explained, and to King Ekathosrot's reign being shortened by six years. The correspondence between this King and the Shogun of Japan affords ample evidence that he reigned from A. D. 1620 to 1628.

There can be no doubt about the date A. D. 1628 being the year in which King Song Tham died, for both Siamese history and van Vliet are in agreement on this point.

King Chetthathirat ascended the throne in April 1628. Siamese history records that he reigned for one year and seven months, whereas van Vliet says that he reigned for eight months. I feel that a mistake in writing crept in here, and that van Vliet meant eighteen months. We know that King Chetthathirat was still alive in April 1629, for in that month and year he wrote a letter to the Shogun of Japan. If we accept eighteen months as the length of his reign, that brings us to September 1629, and this would be about the date of his execution.

King Chetthathirat was succeeded by his brother, Prince Athityawong who, Siamese history says, reigned for six months, whereas van Vliet gives thirty-six days as the length of the reign. Van Vliet was in Ayudhya a short time after this event, so I think we can accept his statement as correct. If we accept this, then King Athityawong was deposed in November 1629, and this is supported by the fact that a Siamese embassy was received in November 1629 by the Shogun of Japan, sent to announce the accession. The actual date of the execution of King Athityawong is uncertain and obscure. King Prasat Thong succeeded him and reigned till A. D. 1656, a

year later than the date given in Siamese history. There is a report from the Council at Batavia to the Dutch East India Company dated 31st January 1657 which gives the following information :—

“Dated 21 Jan. O. S. (31 Jan. N. S.) 1657.

The Kingdom of Siam has this year had a great revolution, the King having died on the 8th August (1656) (18 August, N.S.) and the eldest son having, with armed men seized the court, and ascended the throne. But this only lasted until the second son drove him off it and made the brother of the late sovereign king, he being according to the Siamese laws the next of kin. And a few days later he had the eldest son killed. But this king did not occupy the throne two months; the aforesaid second son, being named Promarit (Narayana), took up arms again and deprived his uncle first of his throne, and then, a few days later, of his life, and set himself up as king under whom the kingdom has remained quiet.”

The eldest son referred to is, undoubtedly, Chao Fa Chai (เจ้าฟ้าไชย) who became King under the title of Phra Sanphet VI (พระสมเด็จฯ ที่ ๖). The second son is Prince Narayana, and the uncle is King Sri Suthamaracha, a brother of King Prasat Thong.

In addition to the evidence recorded above much proof can be found in the writings of foreigners, Portuguese, Dutch and English, to substantiate these dates.

PART FOUR.

Concerning some events in Siamese History.

- (1) THE PROBABLE REASON FOR THE SUICIDE OF PRINCE SUTHAT,
SON AND CROWN PRINCE OF KING EKATHOSROT.

Although what I am about to relate and discuss does not fall within the scope of this critical analysis, because van Vliet does not touch on the subject in either his *Historical Account* or the *Treatise*, I deem it convenient to deal with the occurrence in this Part as it concerns an important event in Siamese history.

Siamese history places on record that in the reign of King Ekathosrot, his son, Prince Suthat, the Maha Uparaj or Crown Prince, committed suicide by taking poison in the third year of the reign.

The actual statement in Siamese history is as follows:--

In the third year of the reign the King appointed his eldest son, Prince Suthat, to be Maha Uparaj or Crown Prince. Four months later the Crown Prince sought an audience with his father, and asked to be allowed to examine *khon ok* (คนออก). The King turned on his son and enquired whether it was his intention to rebel. The Crown Prince was so overcome by fear of his father's suspicion that he retired from the royal presence, returned to his own palace, and in the evening committed suicide by taking poison.

This bald statement of what took place does not convey much information to the reader of the real reason for the suicide. The word *khon ok* is the pivot round which this story turns. I have not met any Siamese authority who could explain the meaning of this word, so I have had to form my own judgment.

Khon ok may have three different meanings: firstly, persons leaving or going out; but as the history does not say what place they were leaving, it is difficult to accept this rendering. If the history meant that the object was to examine persons leaving some place, such as the palace or the city, then it would have said so. For this reason the word cannot have the meaning of persons leaving. Secondly, the words *khon ok* may have the meaning of a person or persons of high rank, or possibly, a person or persons of elderly age. If we accept this connotation, the object of the Crown Prince would be to some extent clear and might account for his father's suspicion and anger. In Siamese we have the terms *pho ok* and

mae ok (พ่อเอก แม่เอก), which mean respectively the father who is greater and higher and the mother who is greater and higher than the person speaking to them. Thirdly, the words *khon ok* may mean a person or persons, a subject or subjects, of a vassal state. A vassal state in the Siamese language is *muang ok*, (เมืองเอก) and on this analogy *khon ok* should be the subject or subjects of a vassal state.

During the reign of King Ekathosrot many states were the vassals of Siam. Ayudhya, the great and glorious city, attracted people from all over the world, and it is certain that many of the subjects of the vassal states both visited and resided in the city. Envoys with their retinues from foreign and vassal states were frequently in Ayudhya.

I accept my third definition of the word *khon ok*, and in accepting this the whole matter becomes clear. The King suspected that his son was in touch or communication with foreigners or his vassals and, therefore, feared that his son contemplated rebellion.

I am not satisfied with leaving the matter at this point, and have endeavoured to find some evidence to support my theory. I find this evidence in a letter, dated 3rd May 1612, from Cornelius van Nyenrode at Ayudhya to H. Janssen at Patani, published in *Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century* Vol. I. I quote this letter in full:

"Dated Judea, 3d May 1612. (N. S.)
(24 April 1612 O. S.)

"On the same date the Japanese were driven out of Pepry (Bejrapuri), some being killed, and that because they had committed excesses there, so they remained altogether at Bangkok, where he has been a little king till now.

"Moreover during this revolt of the Japanese a great lord of this place named Chao Fa Tana had gone over to the Langesander (Lanchang) and told the King that the King of this place had been killed by the Japanese and that they were ruling the country, also that most of the people had fled. The King of the Lanchang, one of the mightiest kings except this one here, has ordered his people to march hither and to try to chase the Japanese away and take the kingdom into their own possession. While marching against this town he found little resistance, so he has been keeping his camp about one day's journey hence during already four months, at a place called

Lemvo (Lavo), and has often sent Ambassadors (saying) that he had come to assist the king to turn the Japanese out of his country. However, His Majesty did not believe it, as the Lanchang people had brought many wives and children with them: and the latter made their intention so clear that the King assembled his people from everywhere and has left the town on the 12th March with all his power against the Lanchang people. He made his camp about five miles from his enemy, ordering his officers to make one nearer to the enemy.

"On the 22nd March he sent some messengers to invite the Dutch to visit him, which they did on the 24th. Then the King was only three miles off the enemy. The reason of the invitation soon appeared, when the King asked them to handle the cannons, given to His Majesty by His Excellency the Prince either in the battle or when the King would order them. By the 30th March the King's army approached the enemy so closely that on the 5th April the battle was fixed on. However, on that day there was no enemy, the Lanchangs having sent their wives and children already four days before, the King and all his elephants and horses following the night of the 4th April. His power had consisted of one hundred thousand men, five thousand horses, but only a few elephants; the Army of the King of Siam having been two hundred thousand men, three thousand elephants (five hundred being equipped for war). The enemy was pursued by some mandarins with their people, many being killed, and the King having only narrow escape. He had to leave his elephant and fly on a horse. The elephant with all that belonged to it was taken by those mandarins. The King of Siam returned thus triumphantly to his capital of Judea on the 12th April. Then he ordered the Japanese to leave his country, which they were willing to do. So within three or four days all Japanese will have left Siam.

"Writers do not think the Japanese will soon return, which they consider to be a profit to the Company, as all deer-skins will now be bought by them."

H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab would seem to have used this letter in connection with his work *Wars between Siam and Burma*. On page 186, he refers to this matter, but for some reason which is not clear, has altered the substance of the story. In the letter the Prince is called Chao Fa Tana. This is, undoubtedly, a

misprint, and should be Chao Fa Fana. The word Fana is Faina. The Dutch always spoke of the Maha Uparaj or Crown Prince as Chao Fa Faina or Faina. This letter gives us the clue to the suicide of Prince Suthat. This Prince went over to the King of Lanchang and told him that the King of Siam (his father) had been killed by the Japanese, who had pillaged Petburi and occupied Bangkok and were ruling Siam. The King of Lanchang conceived the plan of driving out the Japanese, and placing himself on the throne of Ayudhya. A large army led by the King in person, accompanied by women and children, marched on and occupied Lavo. This letter gives full details of what took place, so I will not repeat them.

If I am right in assuming that the Chao Fa Faina was Prince Suthat, and there is little reason to doubt this, for King Ekathosrot did not appoint a new Crown Prince on the suicide of his son, then it is easy to understand why King Ekathosrot suspected the loyalty of his son, and why Prince Suthat committed suicide. The Prince did not commit suicide in the third year of the reign of King Ekathosrot, but in A. D. 1612, the eighth year of the reign.

However, I doubt the accuracy of the statement that Prince Suthat committed suicide. It seems more likely that he was executed by the command of his father, for the offence was rebellion, a heinous crime for which death was the only punishment.

(2) WHO WAS PRINCE SRI SIN, WHO REBELLED AGAINST
KING CHETTHATHIRAT?

In the Paramanuchit version of Siamese history it is stated that King Song Tham was Prince Sri Sin, (พระศรีศิลป์) a son of King Ekathosrot by a concubine. We know now from van Vliet that his mother was a younger sister of Okya Sri Thamathirat, whose family was closely related to the royal House. This lady was a concubine of King Ekathosrot. Van Vliet gives the original name of King Song Tham as Intha Racha, and not Sri Sin. He also tells us that King Song Tham had two brothers, Prince Sri Sin and Prince Thong (พระองค์ทอง) whom he loved beyond all others. We do not know when Prince Thong died, but Prince Sri Sin was alive when his brother came to the throne, and like so many Princes, had become a Buddhist priest. It is believed he was residing in Wat Rakhang (วัดระฆัง) when his brother King Song Tham died in A. D. 1628. According to van Vliet, the line of succession should have descended to

this Prince Sri Sin and not to the King's son, Chetthathirat. King Song Tham, before his death, secretly commanded Okya Sriworawong to place Prince Chetthathirat on the throne. This caused much dissatisfaction among the ministers and noblemen, who became divided into two factions, one faction favouring Prince Sri Sin and the other, Prince Chetthathirat. Okya Sriworawong, who afterwards became Okya Kalahom and, eventually, ascended the throne as King Prasat Thong, had, according to van Vliet, in his younger days debauched some of the wives of Prince Sri Sin and later attempted to assassinate the Prince and his brother Thong, which offences led to his being imprisoned. Okya Sriworawong fell in with the King's wish to place his son on the throne as he knew that if Prince Sri Sin became King, his life would be forfeit. Immediately after the coronation of King Chetthathirat, Okya Sriworawong took steps to rid himself of this potential danger. Prince Sri Sin had been frequently commanded to attend the court, but had neglected to obey the command. Okya Sriworawong arranged with Yamada (Okya Senaphimuk) to persuade the Prince to come to Court, promising to support his claim to the throne and to make him King. Van Vliet tells us that Prince Sri Sin, trusting in the honesty of purpose of Yamada, agreed to come to the palace in his priestly robes, where he would cast them off and, arraying himself as a Prince of the blood, enter the palace and be proclaimed King. The unfortunate Prince acted according to this deceitful plan. On arrival at the palace and having changed his dress, he was seized by Yamada's soldiers, taken before the King and accused of rebellion. The partisans of Okya Sriworawong clamoured for his death, but the King refused to be a party to the shedding of his uncle's blood. The Prince was exiled to Petburi, where he was kept in a well. Instructions were given to bring about his death by gradual starvation. Okluang Mongkol, (เอกพลมงคล) a relative of the Prince, succeeded in rescuing the Prince from his terrible plight. The Prince and Okluang Mongkol did now rebel, for they raised an army to attack Ayudhya. Prince Sri Sin was defeated, captured and executed. Van Vliet gives full details of these events. By the removal of Prince Sri Sin, Okya Kalahom advanced many steps in his ambitions to place himself on the throne, which he did before the year 1629 was out.

Siamese history places on record that the second brother of King Chetthathirat, called Prince Phra Phan Pi Sri Sin, (พระพันปีศรีศิลป์) who could not have been more than thirteen years of age, rebelled against his brother King Chetthathirat, a boy of about fifteen, because he had not been selected to ascend the throne in succession to his father King Song Tham. It does not seem likely that a boy of thirteen years of age would take up arms against his brother, who had a greater right than himself to the throne. The fact that the boy is given in Siamese history the name of Phra Phan Pi Sri Sin may also be taken as evidence that this Prince Sri Sin was grown up and it is certainly more likely that van Vliet is right when he says that the Prince Sri Sin, who rebelled, was a younger brother of King Song Tham, and therefore an uncle of King Chetthathirat. I believe that it is almost unknown in the social life of the people of this country for a father to give his own name to his son. This custom would also support my theory that King Song Tham was not Prince Sri Sin.

(3) WAS KING SONG THAM PRINCE SRI SIN, AND WAS HE IN THE PRIESTHOOD FOR MANY YEARS PRIOR TO HIS ASCENDING THE THRONE?

It is generally believed that King Song Tham was in the priesthood for many years. Some historians say eight years before he became King, and that his ecclesiastical title was Phra Phimontham Anantapricha (พระพิมลธรรมอนันตปรีชา), which rendered into English means "Fully conversant with the excellent law." Some scholars think that he took his royal title, Song Tham, from his monastic name. It is certain that he left the priesthood when he rebelled and dethroned his brother Sri Saowaphak. If his son, King Athityawong, was only ten years of age when he was executed in A. D. 1629, King Song Tham could only have been in the priesthood for a comparatively short time, certainly not eight years, for he ascended the throne in A. D. 1620. Furthermore, Prince Chetthathirat, his eldest son, must have been born in A. D. 1614, which is additional proof of this. It does not seem probable that Prince Intha Racha (King Song Tham) had anything to fear at the hands of his father, but a great deal to fear at the hands of his brother, Prince Sri Saowaphak. Therefore it is likely that he entered the priesthood immediately after the death of his father in A. D. 1619. Princes Chetthathirat and Athityawong must have been born, while he was

still a layman. As both the Paramanuchit and Royal Versions of Siamese history insist that Prince Sri Sin was a priest in Wat Rakhang, and held the ecclesiastical title of Phra Phimontham Anantapricha, and that he ascended the throne as King Song Tham, a point of some historical importance is raised for solution. Van Vliet tells us a story at complete variance with Siamese history, for he says that King Song Tham was Prince Intha Racha, and his brother was Prince Sri Sin. Can it be that Prince Sri Sin was the priest, Phra Phimontham Anantapricha? As I have shown, King Song Tham could not have been in the priesthood for many years before he became King at the age of twenty-nine, although he may have been prior to the year A. D. 1614. I am therefore inclined to doubt the accuracy of Siamese history in this matter, although I accept the statement that Prince Sri Sin was the priest Phra Phimontham Anantapricha.

(4) WHO WAS CHAMÜN SRI SORARAK (จามุนศรีสงคราม), STATED IN
SIAMESE HISTORY TO HAVE BEEN APPOINTED MAHA UPARAJ
ON THE ACCESSION OF KING SONG THAM?

In both the Paramanuchit and Royal Versions of Siamese history we are told that Chamün Sri Sorarak had joined Prince Sri Sin in the plot to dethrone King Sri Saowaphak, and, that as a reward for his services, he was elevated to the rank of Maha Uparaj, the highest position next to the King in the Kingdom, which position he only held for ten days, as he died of a sudden illness. I have dealt in my two foregoing notes with the fallacy of the statement that King Song Tham was Prince Sri Sin. As Siamese history is certainly wrong in this matter it may be equally in error about the appointment of Chamün Sri Sorarak to be Maha Uparaj. Chamün Sri Sorarak was the head of the Corps of Pages in the reign of King Ekathosrot. In fact we are led to believe by a tradition extant that he was a son of this King himself by a Bang-pa-in village girl. I have recorded this tradition in Part II of this paper. Chamün Sri Sorarak was given this title when about sixteen years of age, during the reign of King Ekathosrot. He had attained to great notoriety in Ayudhya by his actions. The boy was undisciplined, ambitious and headstrong and always committing offences against social and official convention, for which he was frequently punished. Van Vliet tells us that Chamün Sri Sorarak was Phra Ong Lai and he was a

son of Okya Sri Thamathirat, a scion of the royal House, which might account for being known as a Prince. Then, there is another story which says that he was a son of King Ekathosrot, and would, therefore, be entitled to the rank of Phra Ong. However this may be, the fact remains that the reputation of this young man was notorious, and it was he who joined in the conspiracy with Prince Intha Racha, which led to that Prince deposing and executing King Sri Saowaphak, and placing himself on the throne. Chamün Sri Sorarak was the leading spirit in this conspiracy. Van Vliet, who knew this official well, tells us that he moved from the position of head of the Pages to that of Chamberlain of the Household with the rank of Okya Sri Worawong during the reign of King Song Tham, and that in the succeeding reign he became Okya Kalahom and, eventually, seized the supreme power himself, being known in history as King Prasat Thong. Van Vliet gives us a sketch of the life of King Prasat Thong from the days when he was known as Phra Ong Lai, and there is no suggestion that he ever became Maha Uparaj. Is it likely that there were two officials holding the same title Chamün Sri Sorarak? The answer must be in the negative. As our Chamün Sri Sorarak (Phra Ong Lai) only became Okya Sri Worawong during the reign of King Song Tham, it would seem to be certain that he did not die. If we accept van Vliet's statement about the career of this man, one is forced to the conclusion that Siamese history is in error on this point, in the same way as it is in error about Prince Sri Sin having ascended the throne as King Song Tham. Chamün Sri Sorarak was so well known in Ayudhya as to be surrounded by a halo of notoriety, and as he became King it may be that Siamese historians have become confused by the extraordinary events, which happened between A. D. 1620 and 1629, in which Chamün Sri Sorarak occupied the central position.

(5) IN WHAT YEAR DID KING SONG THAM ACTUALLY DIE?

Siamese history places on record that King Song Tham was taken ill on Thursday, the sixth waxing of the second month of the year of the Little Era 989, the year of the Rabbit (ปีเถาะ), and that he died of this illness one month and sixteen days later. A calculation proves that both the year of the Little Era 989 and the year of the Rabbit synchronise with the year A. D. 1627. It is more difficult to fix the exact month according to the European calendar, as the

Siamese calendar of that time was based on the lunar system. The second month might be either February or January and, therefore, the King's death may have taken place in the beginning or the end of March 1628, for, it should be remembered, both the zodiacal and the Little Era cover approximately nine months of one year and three months of another year of the European calendar. Siamese history says the King reigned for twenty-five years. This cannot be correct, for we have many foreign records, Portuguese and Dutch, to prove that King Ekathosrot was on the throne in A. D. 1618 and died in A. D. 1619 or 1620. (vide Part III.)

Van Vliet, in his Historical Account speaks of the illness of King Song Tham, and gives dates very similar to those recorded in Siamese history. Van Vliet says: "His (the King's) disposition became, towards the end of the year of the rabbits, in the waning of the eleventh moon, unbearably peevish, so much so that the Mandarins and other grandees of the Court did not dare any longer to approach him in order to speak to him of the important and necessary affairs of his Kingdom. At the beginning of the twelfth and last moon of the year the King fell all at once into a state of exhaustion, and it was very soon evident from the course of his sickness that there was no hope of his recovering". A few sentences further on van Vliet states that the King died "on the 22nd day of the first moon of the great year of the serpents. At the time of his decease he was only thirty-eight years old so that he died in the flower of his age, after having reigned about nine years, almost the whole time in peace."

In attempting to come to a decision as to when King Song Tham actually died, it is noteworthy that van Vliet states that the King was taken ill in the eleventh moon of the year of the Rabbit, and that his illness became so serious at the beginning of the twelfth and last moon of the year as to be the cause of grave anxiety, and that he died on the twenty-second day of the first moon of the great year of the Serpent. It is clear from what van Vliet says that he was speaking of the numerical position of the month of the year of the Rabbit, and that of the Serpent, for he conditions the twelfth month as the last month in the year of the Rabbit. He was not using the ordinary terminology applicable to the months, which would place the eleventh and twelfth months between October and December. Furthermore, after speaking of the twelfth or last month of the year

of the Rabbit he continues with the first month of the new year of the Serpent (ปีมะโรง). If he were speaking in the usual terminology then there would be an hiatus, for the change to the new year under the zodiacal system does not take place till the very end of March or the beginning of April. To make this point clear I would like to explain that the year of the Rabbit commenced at the very end of March or the beginning of April 1627, and closed on or about the same date in A. D. 1628. The year of the Rabbit is followed by the year of the Great Serpent (ปีมะเส็ง).

If my understanding of Van Vliet's statement is correct, then the second month (เดือนกุมภาพันธ์) of the year of the Rabbit mentioned in Siamese history as the date of the commencement of the King's illness would almost exactly agree with the eleventh month given by van Vliet. Siamese history says the King was ill for one month and sixteen days and then died. This statement also closely approximates with van Vliet's statement that the King died on the twenty-second day of the first month of the year of the Serpent which would be about the 20th of April 1628. The use of the words "the great year of the Serpent" may imply that the Maha Sakarat was in common use when van Vliet lived in Ayudhya, but I am inclined to think that van Vliet really meant the year of the Great Serpent, for there are two years of the Serpent, namely, the Great Serpent and the Little Serpent (ปีมะเล็ก). Van Vliet says that King Song Tham reigned for about nine years. This statement appears to be correct though opposed to the twenty-five years given in Siamese history. If, as I understand, King Song Tham ascended the throne in the latter part of A. D. 1620 and reigned till April 1628, this would cover the period of about nine years mentioned by van Vliet. According to Siamese methods of calculation, if a King ascended the throne on the last day of any given year and died in the first week of any given year, that would be calculated as two years.

We know that King Song Tham was succeeded on the throne by his son, Prince Chetthathirat. The proclamation of the accession, according to van Vliet, was made immediately after the death of the King in order to prevent Prince Sri Sin, the King's brother, attempting to seize power. Siamese history records that King Chetthathirat reigned for one year and seven months. Van Vliet says that he reigned for eight months. I think that eight months

is a clerical error for eighteen months. If, as I assume, King Song Tham died in April 1628, then King Chetthathirat was executed in September 1629.

Is there any evidence to help us to solve this difficulty? Fortunately we have a letter from King Chetthathirat to the Shogun of Japan. This letter is dated ๔ ค่ำ ปีมะเส็ง จุลศักราช ๙๙๑. This date tells us that the letter was written on the fourth waxing (month not mentioned) of the year of the Little Serpent, synchronising with the year 991 of the Little Era. The year of the Little Serpent and the year 991 of the Little Era both agree with the year A. D. 1629. It is unfortunate that we do not know the Siamese month in which this letter was written, but in Part XX of *A Collection of Historical Data*, published by the Royal Institute, the date is said to be the 23rd of April 1629. Part XX is, I believe, a translation of Sir Ernest Satow's *Notes on Intercourse between Siam and Japan in the 17th Century*. Whether this date, the 23rd of April, was given by Sir Ernest Satow or by the translator, I am not in the position to say, as I have been unable to obtain a copy of this work in the original. However, I think that I will be correct when I say that the fourth waxing could not possibly be the 23rd of April. However this may be, we cannot escape from the fact that the year of the Little Serpent and the year 991 of the Little Era synchronise with A. D. 1629. This evidence goes to prove that King Chetthathirat was alive in A. D. 1629. If van Vliet is correct when he says that King Song Tham died in the first month of the new year of the Serpent, and I can see no reason for controverting this statement which almost exactly agrees with Siamese history, then King Chetthathirat must have reigned for more than eight months. It is, therefore, probable that the length of the reign, one year and seven months as given in Siamese history, approximates to the truth, but I accept eighteen months as the length of the reign.

(6) THE CREMATION WHICH LED TO THE REBELLION OF OKYA
KALAHOM AGAINST KING CHETTHATHIRAT.

The events, which led up to the execution of King Chetthathirat as recorded in Siamese history, are similar to those mentioned by van Vliet. Both records agree that Okya Kalahom was engaged in cremating the body of a relative. Noblemen attended this ceremony for several days and did not appear before the King at the daily

audiences. This negligence on the part of the nobles enraged the King, and gave rise to a suspicion in his mind that they were conspiring to rebel against him. The King determined to arrest Okya Kalahom, but was himself forced to flee from the palace. He was later taken prisoner and executed on the ground that by fleeing from the palace he had deserted from his high office. Siamese history relates that Okya Kalahom was cremating the body of his mother. Van Vliet, who was in Ayudhya a short time after this event, says that Okya Kalahom was cremating the body of his brother, and, taking advantage of this opportunity, re-cremated the bones of his father, who had died some time before. These cremations were on a grand scale approximating in grandeur to the honours paid to the royal dead.

(7) EXPLAINING THAT THE OKYA KALAHOM OF THE REIGNS OF
KING SONG THAM AND KING CHETTHATHIRAT
WERE DIFFERENT PERSONS.

If one reads Siamese history of the reign of King Song Tham, one learns that a body of some five hundred Japanese marched through Ayudhya, and, entering the precincts of the Palace, made a threatening demonstration against the King, whom they accused of having murdered their patron, King Sri Saowaphak. These Japanese had the intention of seizing the person of the King, but they seem to have been lacking in unity of purpose and a leader. A nobleman, Phra Maha Amatayathibodi (พระมหาอำมาตย์ธิบดี), probably saved the King's life, for he, having gathered together a force of Siamese soldiers, attacked and defeated the Japanese, who were driven out of Ayudhya. King Song Tham rewarded this nobleman by promoting him to the rank of Chao Phya Kalahom Suriwong. As an official of this title continues to take a leading part in the events of the succeeding reigns, one would suppose that the same man continues to render service to both these Kings, but this was not the case. Van Vliet tells us that the Okya Kalahom (Chao Phya Kalahom) of the reign of King Song Tham, was executed in the reign of King Chetthathirath, under the compelling advice of Okya Sri Worawong, a powerful nobleman, who had served King Song Tham in the Royal Household. Okya Sri Worawong, having got rid of Okya Kalahom on the ground that he favoured the claim of Prince Sri Sin to the throne against the expressed wish of the King that his son Chettha

thirat should succeed, forced King Chettathirat to promote him to the vacant title, from which he ascended the throne as King Prasat Thong. Siamese history is silent about these happenings, and leads one to believe that Phra Maha Amatayathibodi was the Okya Kalahom of the reign of King Chetthathirat and, therefore, the nobleman who placed himself on the throne under the title of King Prasat Thong. This Okya Sri Worawong is none other than Chamün Sri Sorarak (จันทน์ศรีสุรารักษ์) born as Phra Ong Lai, whose birth story I have related in full in Part two, and spoken of in Paragraph four of this part.

(8) WAR WITH CAMBODIA.

Van Vliet places on record an event of some importance regarding which Siamese history is silent. He says that the King (Song Tham) was organizing a military expedition by land and sea against Cambodia and that Chamün Sri Sorarak, of whom we have already spoken, who was in prison at the time, petitioned the King to be allowed to take part in the campaign. The petition was granted and Chamün Sri Sorarak accompanied the army, and on his return was taken back into the favour of the King. Van Vliet, in his Treatise submitted to the Director Philippe Lucas of which I give an extract below, amplifies his statement in his *Historical Account*, and tells us that the King accompanied the army himself. I doubt the accuracy of this statement, for there is not the slightest indication in the letters of the King to the Shogun of Japan to support it. Is there any evidence to support this statement of Van Vliet, that Siam was engaged in war with Cambodia during King Song Tham's reign? There is no evidence in Siam, and we have to go to Japan to find it. The correspondence, which was carried on between the Kings of Siam and the Shoguns of Japan, as well as the letters passing between the Ministers of the two countries, which fortunately for us have been preserved in the Japanese archives, provide us with evidence on this point. Early in the year A. D. 1623, King Song Tham sent a letter to the Shogun of Japan in which he says that he had the intention of sending greetings to the Shogun in the previous year, but was prevented from doing so by trouble which had arisen in Cambodia. The King says in this letter that King Sri Suphanarat of Cambodia, a loyal vassal of Siam, had died and been succeeded on the throne by his son Chettha. The new King failed to follow in the

footsteps of his father and refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Siam. It was resolved at a meeting of the Ministers of State to send an ambassador to Cambodia to attempt by kindly words to bring Chettha back to his allegiance. The embassy failed in its mission, and Chettha openly rebelled. The King then went on to tell the Shogun, that he was organizing a military expedition to go by land and sea to suppress the rebellion. He pointed out to the Shogun that there were many Japanese in Cambodia, and he feared that when fighting commenced between the Siamese and the Cambodians, some of these Japanese might fight on the side of the Cambodians and be killed, and that this might lead to a rupture of the existing friendly relationship between the two countries. The King asked the Shogun to prohibit the entry of Japanese into Cambodia during the period of the war. The Shogun of Japan replied to the King of Siam by a letter dated September 1623, in which he said he was sorry to hear of the rebellion on the frontier of Siam. He then pointed out that traders were traders and should not mix in politics, and should any Japanese subjects take part in the war, they should not be exempt from punishment. He advised the King to suppress the rebellion with vigour, and without any fear of resentment on his part.

Van Vliet, in his *Historical Account*, states that the Cambodian expedition was not the success anticipated. As I have already mentioned, Siamese history is silent about this war; therefore, in order to ascertain what happened, I again turn to Japan for information. In the correspondence which passed between King Song Tham and the Shogun of Japan, there are letters to show that the war was a long one, and that even in A. D. 1626 the rebellion had not been suppressed. There is a letter dated March 1626 from the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, Okya Phra Khlang, to Sakai Tadayo, a Minister in Japan. This letter was written in the name of the King and, as in such cases, the permanent title of the Minister was used. In this case, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs was writing in the name of the King, the letter emanated from Okya Sri Thamarat, although signed by Phra Khlang. The same system was in force a few years back in the Ministry of the Interior. When this Minister received any commands or instructions from the King, such commands or instructions were issued in the name of Chao Phya Chakri, whereas an ordinary order or letter from the Minister of Interior would be in his own name. In this letter the King, through his Foreign

Minister, informed the Shogun of Japan among other things that the rebellion in Cambodia had not been completely quelled, and that he was sending reinforcements to the seat of war. This letter was conveyed to Japan by an Ambassador, Khun Raksa Sitthiphol, who was accompanied by an interpreter. The Japanese Minister replied to this letter later in the same year, saying that his master, the Shogun, was grieved to hear of the continuance of the war, and that he felt the King's army would be successful; the weak could not resist the strong. This rebellion was not crushed till the reign of King Prasat Thong.

The letters I have quoted here show that van Vliet places on record an actual happening and thereby adds to our knowledge of history. In order to amplify our understanding of what occurred during this war with Cambodia, I reprint the remarks of van Vliet recorded in the *Treatise* he submitted to the Director, Philippe Lucas, in Batavia in A. D. 1638, which was published in the Journal of the Siam Society Vol. VII, Part 1.

"The kings of Cambodia are from olden times vassals and subjects of the Siamese kings, but on several occasions they have revolted.

Although brave kings and powerful princes of Siam several times subdued the vassal and with arms forced him to pay obeisance, the Cambodians did not remain in proper subjection. They made themselves ready for war and plundered the towns situated on the Siamese rivers. To prevent such to happen again and to tie Cambodia to Siam, the predecessor of the present King has sent two very large armies to Cambodia in 1622. One of the armies went by water and the other one by land, and the king himself accompanied the army to Cambodia. After the Armada (consisting of many large armed galleys and ships of less importance) had been lying for a long time on the river of Cambodia (without going into action or doing anything), it returned again. The Cambodians, encouraged by the departure of the Siamese boats, went to meet the army which came by land. They united in the valleys and the low fields and by false guides brought the Siamese from the good roads. They attacked the Siamese and many thousands of men were slain. Many great men, elephants and horses were killed in that unfortunate battle. The Cambodians took about 250 living elephants. After this victorious defence the one party has left the other in peace. Several times afterwards the Siamese have made preparations for war and the news spread that they wanted to

attack Cambodia, but all this never had any result. I believe that the proud and thoughtless Siamese have spoiled a double chance by treating the foreign merchants and Dutch so badly a few years ago. For now not only can no war vessels for the conquest of Cambodia be expected from the Governor General at Batavia (as was promised by letter in 1637), but also the Governor General has established a Comptoir in Cambodia, where his factors reside so that the Siamese, certainly, will leave Cambodia in peace in future."

(9) THE REBELLION OF THE QUEEN OF PATANI.

It is apparent from what van Vliet says in his *Historical Account* that the Kingdom of Patani then ruled over by a Queen had broken away from its allegiance to Siam, probably about A.D. 1630. This rebellion was ushered in by an attack on Patalung and Nakhon Sri Thamarat, in resisting which Yamada was wounded and thereby lost his life. The military expedition organised and despatched from Ayudhya did not arrive on the scene of the rebellion till A.D. 1632. This army, which was composed of some sixty thousand men with war elephants, horses and artillery would seem to have been more than sufficient to have crushed a small state like Patani, the more so as a fleet of war ships went by sea to give support to the land forces. Van Vliet tells us that the expedition was not successful, owing to the Generals in command not co-operating together. He places on record, in his *Treatise*, the punishment meted out to these officers which was typical of the time. Okphra Rabasit, one of the generals mentioned by van Vliet, was Okphra Ramasitthi, for he spells the name wrongly. King Prasat Thong, wily and astute statesman that he was, deemed it necessary to be on terms of friendship with the Kings of Acheen and Arakan before taking steps to punish Patani. This act of diplomacy was necessary to protect the Siamese seaboard, which lay on the Bay of Bengal, for at that time the provinces of Mergui and Tanao Sri (Tenassarim) formed a part of the kingdom. The King feared that these two potentates might take advantage of his embroilment with Patani, and attempt to seize these two provinces. In fact it would seem from what van Vliet tells us in his *Treatise* that the King of Arakan did have this plan in his mind. Van Vliet in his *Historical Account* mentions the preparations for the war against Patani, but for details of what really happened we must turn again to

the *Treatise*. I reprint below that portion of the *Treatise* which deals with this subject. It is curious that an event of such importance in the reign of King Prasat Thong was not known to Siamese historians; or if they knew it they ignored it, for nothing at all is said about this war in Siamese history. In a history of Patani, Part III of *A Collection of Historical Data* we are told that a Queen ruled over Patani and that three cannon were cast by a Chinese during her reign, but not a word about rebellion. I will digress a little and say that one of these cannons is in Bangkok to-day, brought here in the third year of the reign of King Phra Phuttha Yot Fa (A. D. 1784). This Queen of Patani could only be the Queen who rebelled against Siam during the reign of King Prasat Thong. I do not guarantee that these cannon were cast during her reign. This woman holds a remarkable position in Malay History, and the casting of these cannons was also a remarkable event, so it may be that tradition has brought the two events together. The following are the extracts from van Vliet's *Treatise*:

"The kingdom of Patany has been subjected to Siam since olden times but was only bound to bring, every year, homage to his Majesty the king of Siam with the golden and silver flowers, and in times of war to send in assistance a few thousand soldiers. The princes and princesses of Patany received titles from the Siamese king. They received titles of Pra Chao. From that may be concluded the good right of the Siamese king over the government of Patany. But by the ambition of the late Princess to obtain the highest power and by the great authority of some mandarins, especially Dato Bestaar, (who were not loved by most of the Orangh Cayos,) the people of Patany became rebellious against Siam during the change of succession in that country.

"The ambitious Princess and mandarins, already mentioned, made known in public that the King of Siam did not have the right to wear the crown and that he had killed the true kings and their heirs. For this reason the Patanese regents could not recognise him as a legal king but as a tyrannic conqueror to whom the kingdom did not need to pay homage. To show their intention the Patanese have attacked the provinces of Bordelongh and Lygoor during the first year of the rule of the present king, and afterwards they have taken two of His Majesty's vessels which were going to Batavia and which traded with the East-India Company's factors. At last they

have treated His Majesty's ambassador very unworthily and refused to negotiate with governor Caan who, in 1632, was sent to Patany to promote peace. The Batavian community (burghers) could not expect any restitution and the King of Siam had given up all hope that the Patanese would be obedient to him or make friendship with him. After having conquered the provinces of Lycoon and Lygoor and after having made peace with Queda and Sangora, the King of Siam therefore wanted to force Patany to pay obeisance and to give Siam again the same power as before. To do this His Majesty called to arms in Lygoor an army of 60,000 men with plenty of elephants, horses, artillery and ammunition, and placed over this army four generals named Oyas: Lygoor, Calahom, Berckelagh and Rabisit. Moreover an armada of forty junks and galleys with ammunition and the necessary provisions were sent there. The four chiefs got the order to attack the town of Patany at the end of April or to besiege and take the town by starving it. But in order to carry on the war with more glory and to frighten the Patanese and their neighbours more, the King and the mandarins of Siam asked for assistance of a few ships of the Governor General and Council of India. This request was founded on various motives, namely:— 1—the friendship with the Netherlands nation, which His Majesty had kept up for a long time, 2—the assistance of which His Kingly Grace, the Prince of Orange has assured the King by various missions, 3—the assistance which the late noble general Koen gave the late King many years ago by sending two ships to fight Cambodia, 4—the assistance which the noble general Speck gave in the year 1632, without any requisition, by sending five well armed ships under the command of Anthonio Caan, to fight against the Castilians, 5—that all relations with the Castilians and Portuguese were trade relations, but that there was great friendship with the Netherlands nation. This was proved by several actions of the Siamese government as:— 1—the punishment of Don Fernando de Silva by the late king for taking the yacht *Seeland* and the goods of Caspir Swaris who in 1630 came from Maccouw to Siam with Chinese products, 2—the pursuit of the Maccau prisoners in 1633 by many mandarins.

“For which reasons the King and the mandarins firmly believed that the requested assistance could not be refused by the Governor General. By this assistance Patany should be forced to pay obeisance to Siam. The noble Governor General and the Council of India have

taken the claim on Patany and the urgent requests into consideration, and sent to Patany the ship *Velsen* ahead, and afterwards six well armed boats with a junk under the flag of Commander Claas Bruyn to assist the king of Siam. But these ships came too late as the Siamese army had already returned. The Siamese had besieged the town for about one month, had fought many skirmishes and even had been in the fortress of Patany. Oya Lygoor, who thought that the Siamese had already conquered the town, ordered that the whole town should be kept for the King and that nobody be allowed to take anything of the booty. The soldiers then retired from the town and went back to their camp. Now the Patanese regained courage, defeated the Siamese and made them flee away. After many defeats the Siamese lost all hope of conquering Patany and returned to their fleet at Sangora. But when the chiefs of the army afterwards started to regret the mistakes which they had made, they tried to give the blame to our nation. They sent their false information to the King and made him believe that the Netherlands, by keeping back their warships (which, as they said, were promised to them for certain), were the cause of the defeat. Without any consideration the credulous King believed all this. An immediate result of this was that we became in trouble; we were quite isolated from the outside world, lived as prisoners in the Company's house and expected still worse things for the future. But when the King afterwards heard of the good-will which the Governor General had shown, His Majesty's disgrace turned from us. After the army, with a loss of many thousands, returned in parts to Siam, the principal officers (among whom were those who had falsely accused us) were not allowed to appear before the King to pay the usual reverence and to report of their doings. They were sharply examined about their conduct by a commission. After information had been gathered it was found that many hundreds of Siamese had been inside the fortress of Patany, but that they had the order from Oya Lygoor, general of the army, to retire, as he feared that his soldiers would plunder and destroy the town. Having received this information the King concluded that Patany had not been conquered on account of two mistakes of his officers; firstly, they had left the town too early and, secondly, they had not waited for the assistance of the Dutch. In his rage the king said that they all (although some had shown much ambition) deserved the severest punishment. One of the Captains

was beheaded and his head was put on a post, and His Majesty ordered the others to sit around the post for three days under the open sky in order that they might consider whether their Captain had been punished in the right way. Also His Majesty made known to them that this punishment was the best compensation for their brave deeds. In such condition the officers had to sit for two days in public as an example for everybody, though it was dangerous for their health. At last they were thrown into prison by Oya Poucelouk and Oya Syery, but were released again with the fearful understanding that, if they should be sent for a second time to Patany and if they should return without having gained success, the King would put to death not only them but also all their relatives. The King showed thankfulness for the Dutch assistance although it came too late, and as recompense he discharged the Company for about half a year of the usual taxes. If Patany had been conquered by the assistance from Batavia, the Company would have enjoyed many more advantages."

Van Vliet, in another part of the *Treatise*, tells us of the great preparations for a second campaign, but by the intervention of the King of Queda, peace was made between Siam and Patany. He says: "After the first war great numbers of new soldiers were called to arms for the second campaign which had been postponed for one year on account of the bad harvest of rice. In the meantime more than one hundred new vessels had been built in Siam and the neighbouring countries, and the old vessels had been repaired. All these vessels were to take part in a second war with Patany, so that according to all appearances Patany would have had a hard time in 1636. But by intervention of the King of Queda, and from the predictions of the Siamese priests, the King changed his mind. By order of the King, Berkelangh sent ambassadors to Patany in order to offer for the last time peace to the Queen and the mandarins (as a warning and under pretence of having pity for the Patanese). The ambassadors had also to tell the Patanese that the war had been prevented by the King of Queda and the Siamese priests, and if the Patanese would send legates to Siam to ask mercy, His Majesty without any hesitation would be very glad to grant such. In March 1636 appeared thereupon some ambassadors, who were received by Berkelangh. There were as much humble as the Siamese showed pride. The result of the preliminary negotiation was that in August next a distinguished person appeared as a legate. He presented the golden and the silver flowers to the

King as a sign of subjection. This was accepted by His Majesty with great pleasure, and herewith peace was made between the two kingdoms. No claims were made from either side for insults suffered or for damages."

Van Vliet, in the *Treatise* submitted to his Director, Philippe Lucas, gives us a graphic picture of the political relations between Siam and Arracan. It would seem that the King of Arracan did not wish to be on friendly terms with King Prasat Thong, whom he felt to be an usurper. This King of Siam did all in his power to placate the King of Arracan, because he was embroiled with Patani. I cannot do better than insert here the statement of van Vliet:—

"The kings of the Arracan and Siam have lived in peace and in alliance for a very long time without either of them being a vassal or tributary to the other. To maintain this alliance they sent each other ambassadors every year. This was done, not only to promote commerce, but also for reasons of policy. The alliance lasted until the death of the great King (Song Tham). But as soon as this king had passed away the friendship was finished between the two kingdoms, for the present King having been crowned and having reached the supreme power sent his ambassadors to Arracan as before, although no ambassadors had come from Arracan. The king of Arracan did not receive the legation, saying that he could not recognise an illegal usurper as king of Siam, and he therefore refused to give audience to the ambassadors or to pay any honour to them. The King of Arracan did not allow the ambassadors to return, but did send a boat with some of his subjects to Tannassary to trade as usual. The governors out there reported this to the Siamese King, and asked the King's advice what to do with these people from Arracan. His Majesty commanded that their boats and their goods should be seized and the men taken prisoners and brought to Judia. For more than two years these people from Arracan have been kept prisoners, and during all this time no negotiations about these men have taken place, nor has any hostility been shown by either side, both parties keeping quiet until November last year. At that time some galleys and other small ships were sent from Arracan to the island of Mirghy and to Tannassary with a view to plunder, but as many Moors had left for Masilipatham, and as those who had not left were on their guard, the Arracans could do very little.

"At last the people of Tannassary have seized some Arracans and sent them to Judia. These prisoners after a sharp investigation confessed that the King of Arracan intended to conquer Mirghy and Tannassary, but from want of a sufficient army had postponed the expedition until he might have a better chance. In the meanwhile he wanted to make the rivers in the neighbourhood unsafe in order to prevent the Moors from the coast of Choromandel from coming to Tannassary. The King had moreover asked the assistance of the Dutch and the Portuguese. The Dutch resident had refused such assistance, but the Portuguese had promised to help as much as they were able to. The Siamese King then released the prisoners and sent them over Tannassary, to their own country. They were given a *Track' hausa Ty-bydy*, or missive, from Berkelangh, in which was mentioned the friendship which for so long time had been maintained between the two kingdoms.

"If the King of Arracan wished to continue this friendship, the King of Siam would be very much pleased, but in case the King of Arracan did not wish to act like this, a strong Siamese army would be sent to his country. As no answer has yet been received from Arracan, it cannot be stated for certain whether the two Kings remain enemies or will become friends."

(10) WAR AGAINST CHIENGMAL.

Van Vliet, in his *Historical Account*, mentions a military expedition sent by King Prasat Thong to attack the King of Chiengmai, who he feared might, with the aid of Ava, wage war on him. According to van Vliet, the Princes of Chiengmai and Nan were brothers, but were on bad terms. Owing to the friction between the two principalities, a number of Laos had migrated into Siam and established themselves in the Province of Lavo (Lop-buri). These people, being dissatisfied with their lot, and probably, at the instigation of Chiengmai, left Lavo and went to that town. It was, perhaps, this incident which caused Siam to send an army to punish Chiengmai. As the Prince of Chiengmai had fled before the arrival of the Siamese Army, and as that army therefore had nothing to do, the general in command decided to attack Lycon Lawa (also written *Laurwa* by van Vliet) because the Prince of that Province was a tributary of Chiengmai. Van Vliet, in the *Treatise* speaks of an expedition sent to the North in which the town of Lycoon was destroyed, and then

goes on to record the relations existing between Siam and the kingdom of Lanchang, which he says was not frightened by the fate of Lycoon. This Lycoon is probably Nakhon Lampang. In the *Historical Account* he gives us some information about a war with the North and says that Lycon Lawa was attacked and sacked. Now, is this Lycon Lawa the city of Nakhon Lampang or not? The word Lawa can hardly be transformed into Lampang, and as there was in those days a state near the present day Chiengkham, known as Nakhon Law or Muang Law, van Vliet's Lycon Lawa may be this place. Muang Law was a fortified place, being surrounded by a wall, the remains of which may still be seen to-day hidden in the forest. It may be helpful to the reader, if I reprint what van Vliet said about the relation between Siam and the Northern principalities in the Treatise. So I give an extract as follows, because Siamese History is silent regarding these happenings:

"For various reasons the Siamese kings have often attacked the neighbouring countries like Jangoma, Taiyou, Langsiangh and others. There was peace during a long period until the King of Siam, in 1632, took Lycoon by stratagem, destroyed the town and took the inhabitants as prisoners to Judia. These people came under the government of five mandarins who treated them so badly that many tried to flee away in 1633. But their intention became known before they could go. The chief conspirators were thrown into prison, some were killed by elephants, others thrown into the river and their bodies cut in two, etc.

"The reason for this war was an old claim which the Siamese Kings had on the province and the town. But as the chiefs and the population at the commencement of the rule of the present king refused to pay homage and the yearly taxes, His Majesty decided to force them to do so, and in order to frighten the Patanese (who were rebellious at that time) the King accompanied the army. On leaving his palace the King swore that the four women whom he should meet first would be made an offering to the gods and that his vessels would be besmeared with the women's flesh and blood. This was done; before His Majesty was out of the town he met four young girls sitting in a boat, and on these girls he fulfilled his oath.

"Satisfied he now continued his journey and imagined that victory would be his. I wanted to describe this cruelty in order to show

what great authority the Siamese kings possess and how little their subjects are cared for."

In another part of the Treatise he says:

"The Princes of Jangoma and their neighbours were not at all frightened by the war with Lycoon. But the Princes of Langsiangh sent an ambassador to the Siamese Court with presents in 1633. These presents were made more or less with selfish reasons. For the ambassador brought with him many products from the highlands, such as gold, benjamin and malacca gum with a view to exchanging these for cloth, for which there was great want in Langsiangh at that time. Many private merchants accompanied the ambassador in order to be able to sell their goods with less trouble in the name of the ambassador. But the ambassador and all the people with him had to stop about two miles above the town, and he was not allowed to enter the town before the day that His Majesty gave audience to him and that day the ambassador took leave. They were also so annoyed in their trade by all kinds of monopolies and ill treatment by the Kings, factors that they never came back to Siam again. The Siamese king's seeing afterwards that the absence of the highlanders was a drawback for him and his country, ordered Oya Poucelouck and Berckelangh to send several ambassadors to Langsiangh to invite the people to come back, promising them better treatment and more freedom than on their last visit. But no highlanders appeared in Judia (apparently kept away by distrust); some of them went as far as Poucelouck with their goods. In December last the King sent an ambassador to Langsiangh to remove any objections and to ask the King of Langsiangh to send his subjects again to Siam as in former days promising his people many privileges and much freedom.

"Up to now it is uncertain what has been the result of this mission."

(11) WHERE IS TAPHANG TRU (ตะพิงตรู), THE PLACE AT WHICH SIAMESE HISTORY STATES THAT KING NARESUAN DEFEATED AND SLEW THE CROWN PRINCE OF BURMA IN A. D. 1593?

Burmese and Siamese histories do not agree as to the exact spot, where the battle between King Naresuan and the Crown Prince of Burma was fought, in which the latter was slain. Burmese history insists that this battle was fought just outside the walls of Ayudhya,

whereas Siamese history says it took place at Taphang Tru (ตพังตรู), in the district of Suphan, which is many miles distant from Ayudhya. Van Vliet, who was in Ayudhya thirty-nine years after the event, says in the report that the battle was fought half a mile above the town near a ruined temple. Van Vliet's statement is in accord with Burmese history. The description of the battle given in Burmese history differs from the Siamese account. Burmese history says that the Crown Prince was killed by a stray bullet, and after his death the Burmese army retreated to a place two miles from Ayudhya where they performed the funeral obsequies by embalming the dead body with quick-silver. Van Vliet in his account of the battle states, "The Siamese prince ran his adversary with his lance through the body and took the other's elephant. His slaves, who followed him very close by, killed a Portuguese who sat behind the Pegu prince to guide the elephant."

H. M. the late King Rama VI states that the battle was fought at a place called Don Chedi, West of Suphan and not at Taphang Kru. This Taphang Kru of the King and Taphang Tru of Siamese history must be the same place, the difference being only in the spelling of the word. According to the present administrative division of the country, Taphang Tru is in Amphur Ban Thuan, Province of Kan-
chanaburi, but we do not know how the country was divided in A. D. 1593. Historians must decide the exact spot, on which this famous battle was fought, a battle which liberated Siam from the foreign yoke.

(12) THE MANNER OF EXECUTING PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ROYAL.

Van Vliet, in his *Historical Account*, describes the method or manner in which Princes of the Blood Royal were executed. One does not like to say that van Vliet was mistaken regarding this matter, for it is apparent after profound study of the happenings related by him that he was a man of keen perception, a close observer and must have been in touch with the court and knew a great deal about the lives of the noblemen and what was taking place. He says that when a Prince was to be executed, the executioners laid him down on a scarlet carpet, and thrust him through the stomach with a sandalwood stake, and threw his body into a well. I have always understood that a Prince condemned to death was placed in a red sack which was tied up at the mouth. The executioner would then strike blows at the body of the condemned

man with a cudgel or club made of sandal or scented wood until death ensued, and the body buried. On making enquiries from a high personage fully conversant with the life of the palace and all matters pertaining to the Royal Family, I was given an extract from the ancient *Kot Monthienban* (กฎมณเฑียรบาล) of the Ayudhyan period the Code providing for the Control of the Royal Household. I learn from this Code:—"Should a child of the King be guilty of an offence punishable by death he shall be handed over to two officials referred to as *Thaluang Fan Lang* (ทูลมพินหลวง) and *Nai Waeng Lang* (นายแวงหลวง) to be executed at *Kok Phya*." The Code then goes on to say นายมณังทับดัก ขุนดาบขุนใหญ่ไปนั่งดู หมั้นทูลมพินภบสามคาบ ตัดด้วยท่อนจันทร์ แล้วเอาลงขุม นายมทูลมพินผู้ใด เอาฝ่าทรมแลแขวนทองโทะถึงตาย เมื่อตั้นนั้นแล้วอาลิบเบระอง. The two officials *Mün Thaluang Fan Lang* and *Nai Waeng Lang* are, undoubtedly, the executioner and the flogger. It would seem that the condemned Prince sits in a posture known to the Siamese as *Khatsmat* (ขัดสมาธิ) on a cushioned mat the edges of which are bordered with cloth. This position is one in which the Buddha is represented as sitting when in a state of meditation.

If I understand the Code rightly, the *Nai Waeng* sits on the lap of the condemned Prince facing him, and the executioner strikes a blow on his neck with a club of scented wood causing death. The code is not explicit as to why the *Nai Waeng Lang* should sit on the lap of the Prince, but it seems, probable, that this position is taken up in order to prevent the Prince from moving to avoid the blow or from rising and attempting to escape. Officials known as *Khun Dab* and *Khun Yai* have to be present at the execution, and the executioner *Mün Thaluang Fan Lang* has to perform the act of obeisance three times before the condemned Prince prior to striking the fatal blow. The body was always buried. The word *Thaluang Fan* has a peculiar significance. All executioners before delivering the fatal blow or cut have to approach their victim with a ceremonial dance, and at the conclusion of this dance, turn and make a sudden dash to deliver the blow. Hence the use of the word *Thaluang Fan*. Should any *Nai Waeng* or *Thaluang Fan* appropriate to his own use the clothes or gold ornaments of an executed Prince, death was the punishment. *Kok Phya* is the place at which all Royal executions

took place, and is generally referred to, in Siamese history as Wat Kok Phya.

This high personage said that during the Bangkok Dynasty he believed that executions were carried out in the following manner but was not quite certain as to the exact method, as executions were not carried out in an open manner.—The condemned Prince was placed on a cushioned mat red in colour, lying face downwards with the knees drawn up under his body. A block of sandal or scented wood was so placed that the throat was lying on it. The executioner then with a club of scented wood struck a blow at the back of the neck to break it. The execution was carried out in this manner in order to avoid an effusion of blood, because it was deemed improper that the blood of a Prince should stain Mother Earth. The body was then placed in a weighted sack and thrown into the river.

PART FIVE.

Concerning the Japanese in Siam, in the 16th and 17th Centuries.(1) A FEW REMARKS ON THE CONDITIONS
PREVAILING IN THE EAST.

During the 16th and 17th centuries of the Christian Era, the Eastern seas were infested with foreign adventurers. These adventurers were of many nationalities, including Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, English and Japanese. Piracy was a gentleman's profession, and many of these adventurers would commit an act of piracy on sea or land if a favourable opportunity occurred. The legitimate business (if one may call it so) was commerce and seizing another man's territory. If we read the letters which passed between the Kings of Siam and the Shoguns of Japan and their Ministers, we find that in the year A. D. 1629, communication with Japan was interrupted owing to the activities of Portuguese pirates. (*vide* letter dated 27th March 1629 from Yamada to Sakai Chikara-no-suke). There is documentary evidence to show that these acts of piracy were not confined to the Portuguese or other European nationals only, for a Japanese pirate vessel also attacked a British ship off Patani in A. D. 1605 and killed the captain, John Davis. In A. D. 1610 Japanese pirates were so active on the coast of Cambodia, that the King of that country had to make an official representation to the Shogun of Japan. The acts complained of were attacks on Cham territory and the murder of the inhabitants. The Japanese also attacked shipping on the coast, and even dared to commit their depredations at the port of the Capital. The Shogun advised the King of Cambodia to deal with these men according to the laws of his country. About the same time Japanese pirates are alleged to have murdered an Englishman named Temple Peacock on Cham territory.

In the diplomatic correspondence which passed between Siam and Japan between the year A. D. 1606 and 1629, it is apparent that there was great commercial activity between the two countries, and that there were Japanese settlements in Siam, notably at Ayudhya. The Japanese, who came to Siam, were of three classes: first, men who entered the military service of the Kings of Siam, probably, as early as the reign of King Naresuan; second, traders who settled permanently in the country and established business firms, as well as traders

who came to the country periodically with their ships; and third, Japanese seamen employed as crews on the trading vessels of various nationalities including Japanese. These Japanese were inclined to be troublesome, getting out of hand if they felt that proper consideration had not been shown them, and the more turbulent element would go so far as to commit acts of violence. There is no evidence to show that these men were accompanied by their women, so it is probable that they married Siamese wives, and that their offspring have been absorbed in the race. On the other hand there is evidence to show that in A. D. 1621 Mr. Cocks was informed by the Prince of Hirado that there was an edict in force prohibiting foreigners from purchasing servants, both male and female, of Japanese nationality for removal from Japan, and from possessing armour, spears, swords, guns and ammunition, and also that Japanese should not accept hire as seamen on foreign vessels. This last prohibition would appear to have been a dead letter, for Japanese crews often manned foreign ships. These men may have been Japanese who had left their country prior to the promulgation of this law.

(2) JAPANESE CONNECTION WITH POLITICAL EVENTS.

The first reference to the Japanese in Siamese history occurs in the reign of King Naresuan. We are told that a body of five hundred Japanese soldiers, under the command of Okphra Senaphimuk, accompanied the King and fought in the battle in which the Crown Prince of Burma was killed (A. D. 1593). The Japanese commander rode a male war-elephant named Fūang Phop Trai (เฟื่องพ้อไตร).

The Siamese record of the reign of King Ekathosrot makes no mention of the Japanese, and does not tell us anything of importance beyond the fact that his son, Prince Suthat, the Maha Uparaj or Crown Prince, committed suicide by taking poison, because his father asked him if he entertained the intention of rebellion. This statement in Siamese history would not lead one to suppose that this act of suicide was connected in anyway with the Japanese. The story is so incomplete that one turns to other sources to ascertain the reason for the suicide. I find in the *Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century* (National Library, Bangkok) a letter dated 3rd May 1612, which gives us a clue to the reason for the suicide of Prince Suthat. I relate the story in full in

Part IV, paragraph 1. The reader will gather that I connect the suicide of Prince Suthat with the Japanese raid on Petburi and their occupation of Bangkok. These acts must have taken place in A. D. 1612 and, apparently, caused some anxiety in the Kingdom. If one can trust the statement made by the writer, Mr. Cornelius van Nyenrode, the Japanese were ordered to leave Siam, and he believed that four days after the issue of the order of expulsion all Japanese would have left the country.

I relate this story here as it is of some historical importance, supplying the historian with data for the reconstruction of Siamese history.

The second reference to the Japanese in Siamese history occurs in the reign of King Song Tham, A. D. 1620-1628. Siamese history tells us that several Japanese trading vessels came to Ayudhya. The men on these vessels were angry, because they believed that the Ministers of State had conspired with King Song Tham and murdered the previous King. The Japanese, in a body numbering five hundred men, massed themselves on the Royal plaza waiting to seize the person of the King when he came out to go to the Chom Thong Palace to listen to a religious discourse. At the moment when eight priests from the Wat Pradu seminary went in and brought the King out, passing before the Japanese, the Japanese became excited and called out one to the other saying: "We are here to seize the King. Why are we standing quiet?" The Japanese began quarreling among themselves. At this juncture Okphra Maha Ammat (ออกพระมหาอำมาตย์) appeared on the scene with some soldiers and dispersed the Japanese, many of whom were slain in the fight. The survivors, who escaped, went to their vessels and fled from the country. This history then tells us something which is not true, for it places on record that from that time Japanese ceased coming to Siam.

This statement raises a suspicion in the mind of the reader that something must have happened before, which caused the Japanese seamen to commit this act of violence, for as foreigners, they were not concerned with political happenings in Siam. One therefore makes an attempt to ascertain the true reason for their behaviour. King Song Tham was in regular diplomatic correspondence with the Shoguns of Japan, and the relations between the two countries were most friendly. One of the first letters sent by King Song Tham of which we know, was written in A. D. 1621, the year following his

accession. In all this correspondence, there is not a single note or tone of anger or annoyance against the Japanese. Rather the contrary, for when the King was despatching a military expedition against Cambodia in A.D. 1623, he informed the Shogun and asked him to warn Japanese nationals in Cambodia to be neutral. One is therefore forced, at first sight, to suspect that this act of violence did not take place in the reign of King Song Tham, but rather in the reign of King Prasat Thong, during which there was much trouble with the Japanese, hundreds of whom were killed and imprisoned, only a slender remainder escaping in their vessels from Siam. Furthermore it was during the reign of King Prasat Thong that the Japanese ceased to come to Siam. I deal with this matter in the latter portion of this part of my critical analysis. In this connection, however, it is suitable to remember what van Vliet says in his *Historical Account* about the growing influence of the Japanese. These are van Vliet's words:

"But in place of being grateful for this civility, the Japanese became more arrogant, and did not scruple to say aloud that they would go and attack the King on his throne, and that they would put the town into the same state as in the time of the Great King."

The Great King referred to is King Song Tham, and as van Vliet is so accurate in what he relates, one is forced against logic to believe that an attempt was really made to seize the person of King Song Tham or at least that the Japanese created a disturbance near the palace as related in Siamese history, and that King Prasat Thong was threatened with the same treatment. Hence his reprisals against the Japanese. If one accepts this as correct, the last portion of the statement, namely, "that from this time the Japanese ceased to come to Siam," cannot be applied to the reign of King Song Tham. The wording of the statement in Siamese history, regarding the attempt to seize the person of King Song Tham, causes one to suspect that the Japanese had been implicated in some acts of violence in the previous reigns. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, in his work entitled *Wars Between Siam and Burma*, page 198, says:

"Amongst the European and Japanese records relating to the happenings in Ayudhya at this period, is found a statement that some Japanese merchant ships came to Ayudhya during the reign of King Sri Saowaphak (A. D. 1620). The Japanese, like sailors of other nationalities roaming the seas at that time, frequently committed acts

of piracy. The men of these vessels, finding the government to be weak and the person of the King neither respected nor feared, entered the city of Ayudhya which they pillaged, and then, proceeding to the palace, seized the King and forced him to sign with his own blood a document agreeing to protect the Japanese, and to prevent anyone doing them harm. They then took the Buddhist Primate or Archbishop with them as security for their safe exit from the country, only releasing him on their arrival at Paknam."

It is believed that this act of humiliation, in which the King acquiesced, prompted Prince Intha Raja to remove Sri Saowaphak from the throne and take the reins of government into his own hands. Did this occurrence really take place or not? Siamese history is silent about the attack on King Sri Saowaphak. It may be that the mention of the attempt to seize the person of King Song Tham is merely an echo of what happened in the previous reign. In connection with this matter, however, we have the statement of van Vliet regarding the conduct of the Japanese in the reign of the Great King. (*vide* extracts from his *Historical Account* given above). In his *Treatise*, he makes a statement which is in accord with the story mentioned by Prince Damrong. The following is an extract from this *Treatise*:

"But as the confluence of Japanese increased considerably, their natural pride and impudence grew so great that at last they dared to attack the palace and to seize the King in his own room. They did not let him free again from their tyrannic hands before His Majesty had sworn that He never would remember the harm done to him, nor take any revenge and that he would take the Japanese in his service as soldiers and as bodyguards to the end of his life. These promises remained in force, by which the rogues, not only enjoyed the usurped advantages, but practised also great impudence and violence against the natives and against the foreign traders."

Accounts written by other foreigners such as the Englishman, Peter Williamson Floris, and the Hollander, Sprinckel also give us a picture painted in much the same colours. In some of these accounts a Siamese nobleman, given the name of Okya Krom Nai Wai, is referred to and credited with intriguing to seize the Royal power. This man is believed to have brought some Japanese to Siam and to have been supported by them. He is also said to have favoured the Dutch, who are supposed to have helped him to ascend the throne. This man, Okya Krom Nai Wai, is undoubtedly Pra Ong Lai. It was a

common usage at that time to speak of Siamese noblemen by their name and not by their titles, and this practice was always used by the Japanese, who never refer to Yamada by his title. Krom Nai Wai is one of those curious anomalies in pronunciation so common to Europeans when referring to strange names.

As I have mentioned above, the story of the Japanese having entered the Royal palace and seized the person of the King Sri Saowaphak whom they compelled to sign a bond with his own blood, in which he agreed to grant them the Royal protection, and to employ them as soldiers in his service as well as to concede to them certain privileges, is referred to by Floris. He said that King Sri Saowaphak had executed Krom Nai Wai, whom he suspected of plotting to seize the throne. The Japanese, who were the staunch retainers of Krom Nai Wai, numbering two hundred and eighty, entered the palace, seized the King, and forced him to sign a bond and to hand over to them the four noblemen who had been responsible for the execution of Krom Nai Wai in order that the Japanese might put them to death to satisfy their revenge. Floris, who lived in Patani, must have obtained a garbled version of what took place, for although it is certain that Pra Ong Lai did plot against the King, he was not executed, because he eventually succeeded, with Prince Intha Racha, in deposing and executing King Sri Saowaphak. Sprinckel relates that Okya Krom Nai Wai brought some four or five hundred Japanese, disguised as traders, into Siam in order to help him to seize the throne. He was unable to accomplish this end during the reign of King Song Tham, who was known to Europeans in Patani as Ragihapi. (This word is probably Rajahadji or Rajanabi.) Krom Nai Wai was frustrated from carrying his plot into effect by the action of the noblemen and the Dutchmen, who, although they had received many favours at his hands were loyal to the Royal House, and thus Prince Chetthathirat succeeded his father and on his death was succeeded by his younger brother. When Sprinckel left Patani, the position in Ayudhya was obscure. The references to Krom Nai Wai by both Floris and Sprinckel can leave no doubt in one's mind that Krom Nai Wai was Pra Ong Lai. There is no evidence to prove that Phra Ong Lai ever became Phra Nai Wai, which some scholars believe to be the correct rendering of the word Krom Nai Wai. I therefore conclude that Krom Nai Wai must be a corruption of Phra Ong Lai.

Did the title Phra Nai Wai exist in those days? I have not come across it in the old Law regulating Sakdina (นพดลเวือน).

After analysing the evidence recorded above, I am inclined to think that the Japanese did attack the palace and seize the person of King Sri Saowaphak, and that they compelled him to sign a bond with his own blood, promising to protect them and to grant certain privileges. I also accept the statement of van Vliet that in the reign of the Great King, Song Tham, the Japanese entered the city and made a menacing demonstration against the King on the Royal plaza near or within the palace wall, but on this occasion no act of violence was committed against the King.

The third reference to the Japanese in Siamese history occurs in the reign of King Suthamaracha (A. D. 1656). The story is that when this King ascended the throne, his nephew, Prince Narayana, was appointed Maha Uparaj. The King desired to enjoy the person of a younger sister of Prince Narayana, a beautiful Princess. She complained to her brother, who decided that on account of this offence against royal morality, his uncle was not fit to reign and should be removed. Prince Narayana commenced to collect a force to attack the palace. Okya Senaphimuk and Chaiya Sura (ไชยสุระ) offered their services and that of forty Japanese under their command. This Japanese force took part in the fighting. They joined Rajalila's troops and were present at the assault on the Sri Sanphet palace. This Rajalila was a Malay official. The title Chaiya Sura is, probably, Mūn Chaiya Sura, (หมื่นไชยสุระ) the Paymaster of the Japanese contingent. There was another officer Khun Sura Songkhram (ขุนสุระสงคราม), who was the Palat Krom or Adjutant. The word Sura is synonymous with bravery and was aptly given to these Japanese officers, for the Japanese had the reputation of being the bravest people in the East. An interesting light is thrown on this incident by which Prince Narayana seized the Royal power and ascended the throne. (*vide* extract from *Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century* quoted in Part III, paragraph 3.)

3) KING PRASAT THONG AND THE JAPANESE.

Having placed on record what is said in Siamese history about the Japanese, I now return to van Vliet to ascertain what he says about

the attitude of King Prasat Thong towards them. In his *Historical Account* now under analysis he tells us:

"Then the King, being warned of the arrogance of their words and fearing the result of a desperate resolve, determined to be beforehand with them. For this purpose, he had fire set to the Japanese quarter on the night of the 26th October 1632, when, by the overflowing of the river all the streets of the town were under water. Further, he at the same time had cannon fired on their houses with such fury that they were compelled to throw themselves into their junks. But inasmuch as they were not in sufficient numbers to be able to arm both junks, they made use of only one, in which they descended with the current of the river, fighting all the time as they retreated. The King caused the attack and pursuit to be kept up, at the cost of the lives of several Siamese. Then these Japanese, who had dwelt in other quarters of the town, were diligently searched for, and were cruelly put to death, to the great contentment of those to whom their arrogance had been unsupportable."

This is the last act in the drama which led to the expulsion of the Japanese from Siam in A. D. 1632. Is there any evidence to support this statement of van Vliet? We find in a Japanese work, entitled *Tsuko-ichiran*, a long account of the happenings in Siam during this period making special reference to the position of the Japanese. The *Tsuko-ichiran* was compiled during the last years of the Tokugawa Shogunate (A. D. 1853) by the diplomatic authorities in Japan. It purports to be a history of intercourse between Japan and foreign countries. Although the account is garbled and inaccurate in many parts, for it brings forward to the reign of King Prasat Thong events which happened several decades before, still, that portion of the account which refers to the expulsion of the Japanese agrees in a large degree with the statement of van Vliet. This Japanese book tells us that Yamada was poisoned by an emissary named Chanthra, (จันทรา) sent from Ayudhya to Petburi by the King's mother, who was engaged in an amorous intrigue with the Kalahom. The matter of this intrigue is merely an echo of the intrigue between Lady Sri Suda chanthra (ท้าวศรีสุทธาจันทร์) and Khun Worawongsathirat, so we need not pay any attention to it. The story now goes on to relate that O-In, the son of Yamada, who was in Nakhorn Sri Thamarat, was so incensed against Ayudhya for this act of treachery, that he determined to

have his revenge. Ayudhya, fearing that O-In would rebel, sent an embassy headed by the same Chanthra to Nakhorn Sri Thamarat, requesting O-In to surrender the Government. O-In agreed, but stipulated that the handing over should be done with traditional ceremony. Chanthra, not suspecting treachery, went with three hundred men to the place appointed for the meeting. He had no sooner arrived there than he realised that he was surrounded. A fight ensued, in which his men were defeated and he himself alone fell into the hands of O-In, who thus satisfied his vengeance. O-In immediately began collecting forces for the attack on Ayudhya and if successful, he had the intention of placing a member of the Royal House on the throne. Rumours began to circulate in Ayudhya that the army of O-In numbered 300,000 men. The Kalahom became panic-stricken and feared that if the Japanese rose in revolt, Ayudhya would fall into their hands. He therefore conceived the plan of seizing their vessels so that, having no means of escaping, they would fall an easy prey to the Siamese soldiers. An order was sent to the Japanese community living in Ayudhya to send the captains of the two Japanese vessels lying in the river into the city. When the captains received this order they went and consulted with Iva kura He-i-je-mon, the Japanese head-man, at his house. The Japanese head-man was convinced that it was the intention of the Government by this move to find out whether the Japanese in Ayudhya were partisans of O-In, who had killed the Siamese ambassador Chanthra, or were loyal to the country of their adoption. If the Government felt that the Japanese were disloyal, then it was certain that they would kill the two captains. Therefore, whether the captains went or not, the danger would be the same. A conference was convened, which was attended by the principal Japanese. The conference came to the conclusion that the Government desired to hold the two captains as security, knowing full well that the Japanese people loved justice and their kith and kin and that they would not dare to cause any disturbance or attack the city, for fear of the two men being killed in revenge. Furthermore the meeting realised that, as there were many friends of O-In in the city, O-In would not make an immediate onslaught, in the hope that the difficulty might be overcome by negotiation, and the two captains be released. On the other hand, this policy would give the Siamese authorities time within which to collect their forces and attack the Japanese later. Anyhow, when

the manoeuvres of the Siamese were so clear, it would be an act of stupidity to play their game. It was therefore thought best that the Japanese community should take refuge on the Japanese ships and defend themselves there. While the Japanese were in consultation, a second messenger arrived, and conveyed an urgent order for the surrender of the two captains. These two men, named Osajemon and Jubei, said if they did not go in response to the order they would be characterised as cowards. Therefore, when death was coming to them whether they went or not, death would be their lot. The two captains decided to go into the city with a small armed force, having arranged with their compatriots that on hearing a signal, which would be given by discharging a gun, all those who were true men were to rush into the city to assist and fight by the side of the captains even unto death, and by this act of supreme sacrifice, the renown of the Japanese would spread to the surrounding countries. The two captains with twenty-five men carrying pistols, ten carrying bows and arrows, and a number carrying spears marched into the city, while the remainder of the Japanese, under the command of He-i-ye-mon, held themselves in readiness to go to the assistance of the captains. When the Kalahom heard that an armed party of Japanese had come into the city, he sent an army officer to go and ask them why they had come armed. The Japanese replied that O-In having killed the Siamese ambassador at Nakhorn, this act might cause the Kalahom to believe that the Japanese would side with O-In, and he would therefore attempt to slay the Japanese in retaliation. For these reasons they had come armed, for the Japanese hold as a military tenet that, when danger approaches and they have to die, they should do so facing the enemy with their weapons in their hands. When the Kalahom was told what the Japanese had said, he sent a second time to inform them that the Siamese Government had sent the military expedition to Nakhorn to punish O-In for his act of rebellion. The Japanese not concerned in this matter had the right to return to their own country whenever they desired to do so. He feared that the Japanese in Ayudhya might join O-In, and therefore he ordered them to give back the land occupied by them to the Government and return to Japan immediately. However, as their ships were easily handled and sailed, and could be used in acts of piracy, he commanded that the Japanese should hand their ships over to the Government, and the Government on their part would

place at their disposal six or seven large Siamese vessels and convey the Japanese as far as Annam. A member of the party replied to this request saying :

“ As regards the land, we only hold it on lease, and therefore we willingly return it, but the ships being our property, we will on no account surrender them. As regards the question of our leaving your country in Siamese ships, we beg to say that we are not conversant with the sailing qualities of Siamese vessels; we therefore reject your offer, and there is only one way by which we will return to our own country and that is in our own ships.”

The Japanese, having submitted this ultimatum, turned and marched out of the city and joined their friends. They laughed among themselves at the great plans which they had prepared for their own protection, seeing that things had not turned out as they believed would be the case. They agreed that to remain in Siam any longer under the existing conditions would be impossible, so they collected together their property with the intention of leaving. At this juncture an order was issued by the Government laying down that as the Japanese had decided to leave the country, no Japanese should be allowed to enter any of the gates of the palace. Should any Japanese disobey this order, he would be punished according to his offence. One Japanese went through a gate. He was immediately chased by the Palace guards, and, in defending himself, killed four and wounded nine of the guards before he was captured. The next morning the Government demanded that the Japanese community should send thirteen of their members into the city that they might be executed as the price of the blood shed by the Japanese in the palace. The Japanese refused. Negotiations went on for some time without any result, and finally an ambassador from India, who was in Ayudhya at the time, was asked to act as arbitrator in the dispute. The arbitrator ordered that the Japanese should pay as blood money 133 catties weight of silver and that the Government should return to the Japanese the thirty ships belonging to them. It is true that, although, the Japanese had the strongest desire to return to their country, they felt that they could not take this step till they had arranged for the protection of the families of the men who were with O-In, which was a first and necessary step of importance. They therefore decided to remove the property and the families of those men to their ships. On the fourth waning of the second month,

January or February, in the year A. D. 1633, the Japanese pulled up anchor and left Ayudhya. The Siamese, seeing that they had taken the families of the men who were serving with O-In away with them, believed that they would go to Nakhorn Sri Thamarat and join forces with O-In and return to attack Ayudhya. The Siamese therefore, collected their forces and attacked the Japanese ships as they were preparing to leave. A great fight took place on the river. The Siamese were repulsed losing a large number of men and ships; and the Japanese then left Ayudhya, having suffered small losses. The Siamese then reorganized their forces and chased the Japanese down the river. When they came near the bar they called on a Portuguese ship, which was lying there, to prevent the Japanese from getting away. A second fight ensued, in which the Portuguese were worsted, and the Japanese escaped to the high sea. In these two fights, it is computed that the Japanese losses were forty-three dead and a large number wounded; but the exact number is not known.

As the wind was favourable, the Japanese ships soon arrived at Nakhorn, the men on board having the intention of joining O-In in an attack on Ayudhya. The Patanese, however, not having supplied the contingent of three thousand men they had promised, O-In was unable to move. The people of Nakhorn, seeing his difficulty, deserted from his standard, an example which was also followed by many of the Japanese. O-In's position became desperate, and, eventually, with sixteen or seventeen followers, he fled to Cambodia. Some of the Japanese were able to return to Japan. When O-In arrived in Cambodia a civil war was being fought between the King and his brother. O-In and his men fought on the side of the King, and he and six of his men were killed in a battle in which the King was defeated.

In this Japanese account, the Kalahom is King Prasat Thong. This Japanese account of what happened to the Japanese and the manner in which they left the country is, probably, fairly correct, although it does not agree entirely with van Vliet's story.

According to these statements of van Vliet and the record in the *Tsuko-ichiran* quoted above, exact dates are given for the attack organised by King Prasat Thong on the Japanese in Ayudhya. Van Vliet says the attack commenced on the 26th October 1632 and the *Tsuko-ichiran* gives January or February 1633 as the date on which the Japanese pulled up anchor and were attacked. A question arises as to whether King Prasat Thong had had trouble with the Japanese

in Ayudhya before A. D. 1632. I ask this question because I find an entry dated 5th December 1631 in the *Dagh Register* or the Daily Journal of Dutch East India Company in Batavia, which cannot be doubted. We learn from this entry that the King of Siam sent a letter with valuable presents to the Prince of Orange and the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies in reply to a letter from the Governor General, whose letter had been received by the King himself "with such solemnities and honours as never heretofore have been shown to any ambassador." The entry now gives us the reason for the high honour shown to the Dutch Ambassador. It states:

"Last year the King, who feared that the Japanese residents might attack and murder him, intended to surprise the Japanese on a certain date and to kill them, for which purpose he held 4,000 soldiers at his disposal. The Japanese however, who had been warned in time, made their escape unnoticed in a junk, which was moored abreast of their quarters and sailed down the river. They were, however, pursued to the estuary, by a Siamese fleet of 100 vessels and 4,000 men, and then succeeded in driving the Siamese back, killing 500 of their enemies.

"As the Japanese were not allowed to land in Ligor, they sailed to Cambodia, trying to induce that country to declare war on Siam. The Siamese, by way of defence, left a fleet of about 100 vessels moored in the mouth of the Menam.

"The King earnestly appealed to the Dutch for help, this explaining the above extraordinary honours shown by his Majesty."

When did this incident occur and is it the same affair as is referred to by van Vliet and the *Tsuko-ichiran*? This entry is precise and causes me to think that this incident has no connection with the attack organised by King Prasat Thong on the Japanese at the end of A. D. 1632 or the beginning of 1633. If I am correct in this conjecture then King Prasat Thong must have expelled a certain section of the Japanese community before the final expulsion in A. D. 1632.

Van Vliet speaks of the Japanese threat to attack the King on his throne, and to put the town into the same state as in the time of the Great King. Can this attack on the Japanese, which must have taken place in A. D. 1630, be the King's reply to the threat and can it be that van Vliet was not aware of it? Reading van Vliet's *Historical Account* one is led to believe that the attack organised on the 26th October 1632 was the King's reply to the threat. I am not

inclined to think that the entry quoted is a mistake, for it is supported by a definite date, the 5th December 1631, a year prior to the date mentioned by van Vliet.

The record of this incident should be of value to the historian for it shows that King Prasat Thong was not viewed by the Japanese with favourable eyes after he had got rid of Yamada, which he did towards the end of A. D. 1629. Thus there were two major incidents; first, the attack on the Japanese in A. D. 1630 and the second, in A. D. 1632.

Although King Prasat Thong had expelled the Japanese from the Kingdom in the manner described above, it would seem that, some time after, he relented and permitted some seventy to eighty Japanese to return to Ayudhya, where they were allowed to settle and were given every consideration. In May 1635, King Prasat Thong attempted to re-open negotiations with Japan. In that year he sent an ambassador Okkhun Sri Phakdi to Japan for that purpose, but the attempt failed for the Japanese refused to receive Okkhun Sri Phakdi. He left Japan on the return voyage and called at a port in Formosa. While on the river Mattauw on the 11th January 1637, a gale arose, the ship was wrecked, and the ambassador drowned. The King refused to accept defeat, for he made another attempt to negotiate with Japan in A. D. 1639, which was also unsuccessful.

King Prasat Thong, in allowing the Japanese to re-enter the country and in his endeavours to restore political and commercial relations with Japan, was probably moved to do this owing to the unfavourable economic conditions which had fallen on the country. The trade with Japan was of paramount importance for Siam, for the Japanese brought large amounts of silver bullion to Siam, with which to finance the trade. We know that the foreign commerce of Siam during the reign of King Prasat Thong had shrunk considerably. This must have been a cause of anxiety to the King, who, seeing his country becoming poorer year by year, feared that rebellion and plots against himself might be fomented, on the ground that the disgrace in the country was ordained by the Gods as a punishment for his many evil acts in murdering the Princes and the flower of the nobility.

It is generally believed by historians that the refusal of the Shogun to restore friendly political and commercial relations with Siam was due to the acts committed by King Prasat Thong against members of the Royal Family and his usurpation of the throne, as

well as to the brutal manner in which he had treated the Japanese. It is certain that the usurpation of the throne and the murders of the Princes came as a shock to the Shogun, for such acts of disloyalty were opposed to Japanese ideals, and this may have influenced the Shogun in breaking off treaty relations, but this is doubtful. The treatment of the Japanese in Siam by King Prasat Thong would not seem to have annoyed or perturbed the Shogun, for we learn from a work, entitled *A Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*, written by Francis Caron and Joost Schouten about the middle of the 17th century, that the Shogun did not approve of the acts of violence committed by Japanese nationals in foreign countries. They say:

“The Japanners of old had great correspondency with them in China, whose Kings sent ambassadors yearly to each other, for entertaining their alliance, and the negotiation of their subjects. It happened that the Japanners, who were numerous in China, did mutiny, and in a tumult destroy a whole city, plundering, ravishing, and spoiling all; but the Chineses, getting into a body, fell upon the Japanners again, and put all they could meet with to the sword. The King of China, hearing of these discords, was no lesse amazed then in a wonder, that so few could do so much mischief, and therefore resolved to banish the Japanners for ever out of his Kingdom; in memory whereof he caused a great stone Pillar to be set up, with the story of their exile in letters of gold. He likewise set out a proclamation, that none of his subjects, upon paine of death, should saile any more to Japan; which order was then more exactly observed then at present, and yet they do not directly go thither; for the Chinesses, under a colour of other voyages, do often slip into Japan. The Emperor of Japan doth not at all obstruct their traffick, permitting them to enter and leave his country when they please, saying he will not reward evil for evil; considering also that the reason of this prohibition, on the other side, came not through any fault of the Chinesses, but by the disorders of his own people. Since the Japanners have been banished out of China, they used to sail to Tayouan (Taiwan, Formosa) where the Chinesses brought them their merchandises; but that being discovered by the Court of China, they were prohibitted this traffick likewise. Many years after the Japanners obtained leave to return to Tayouan, as also to go to Touckien, Cambodia, and Siam; which negotiation was again disturb-

ed, upon this consideration, that the Emperour of Japan would neither offend nor be offended by any strangers, which had already happened by the extortions of the Governours of Siam and Tayouan; and therefore none of his subjects should any more traffick or deal with strangers out of their own country. Another reason was, because he would have no arms transported out of his Empire, (which could not be hindred by no way but this), insomuch that two Chinesses, Father and son were both crucified at Finando, for endeavouring to convey some away in private; and five Japanners, who had sold them the said Arms, without knowing their design, were beheaded. But the chief cause of this inhibition is, least the Natives of this Country, travelling into strange places, might be converted to the Christian Religion, and upon their return infuse those forraigne principles into their Countrey-Men, which they have endeavoured, to suppress with so much blood and violence."

The prohibition referred to in the above statement, was, probably, the prohibition contained in an Edict promulgated in the year A. D. 1636, and not the prohibition of A. D. 1620. This must be the case, for the statement alludes to the extortions of the Governor of Siam.

The Japanese do not take a prominent part in the affairs of Siam from this time on, for it was only in A. D. 1887 that treaty relations between the two countries were restored.

4) TOPOGRAPHY OF AYUDHYA AND THE JAPANESE SETTLEMENT.

It may interest the reader to know something about the topography of the ancient city of Ayudhya, a city which was truly glorious and impregnable. Ayudhya was besieged several times between A. D. 1350 and 1767, but was never taken by force of arms and assault. The enemy only succeeded in capturing the city by the treachery of some of its defenders. Japanese, who occupied such a prominent place in Siamese history, had their principal settlement outside the city for, it would seem that foreigners were not allowed to live within the city walls.

The city of Ayudhya was situated on an artificial island lying between the Prasak and Chao Phya rivers, which were connected by a canal running from East to South-West known as Klong Muang, forming the Northern and Western boundaries of the city. From the point, where the Prasak river entered this Klong Muang, another waterway known as Lam Khu Khü Na, (ลำคูขื่อนน้ำ) which forms the Eastern

boundary, runs South and joins the Chao Phya river, which is the Southern boundary of the city. Thus Ayudhya is surrounded by water. Below the point south of the city, where the waterway Lam Khu Khü Na joins the Chao Phya river, was situated the harbour, to which all trading vessels went for examination before unloading their cargoes. The following foreign settlements in the order given were situated on the East bank of the Chao Phya river: Chinese, Dutch, English, and Japanese. Across the river, nearly opposite the Japanese settlement, lived the Portuguese, whose settlement had a river frontage of three kilometres. Each settlement had its own wharves. Thus it will be seen that the Japanese settlement was some distance below the city.

PART SIX.

Concerning the position of Yamada Nagamaza.

(1) EARLY LIFE OF YAMADA NAGAMAZA.

Yamada was known to his friends as Yamada Nagamaza, but when Yamada wrote to the Ministers of State in Japan at the command of the King, which he did several times he signed his name as Yamada Nizayemon Nagamaza and sometimes Yamada Nizayemonnojo Nagamaza, but when the Ministers of State in Japan wrote to him, they gave him the style of Yamada Nagamaza (ยามาดานางามาซา). I learn from Mr. R. Amada of His Imperial Japanese Majesty's Legation that Nagamaza is the personal name of Yamada. On attaining manhood the term Nizayemon was added to the name. This term sometimes signified that the bearer had a military position, and particularly so when *jo* was added. A full account of the correspondence referred to here will be found in Part VII of this critical analysis.

When a man of the people attains to celebrity, it is the practice to try and find out where and when he was born, and who his parents were. I have never understood the necessity for this, as I hold that it is not a matter of any importance. The man lived, possessed high qualities and did great deeds: that should be enough for the historians. As, however, the human mind demands information of this kind, I will try to supply it. There has been much conjecture and much research work done to settle this point, but without much success.

I learn from a work entitled *The Exploits of Okya Senabhimuk* (*Yamada Nagamaza*) the Japanese General in the 17th century written by Mr. Sakae Miki of the Department of Fine Arts in Siam that certain authorities believe that Yamada was born in the Province of Suruga, while others state that he was a palanquin-bearer of Okubo Jiemon. We are not told anything of his parentage, or his age when he left Japan for Siam, whether he was married and had children by a Japanese wife or not, but we do know from van Vliet that, at the time of his death *circa* A. D. 1630-31, a son who held the title of Okkhun, aged eighteen years, was with him in Nakhon Sri Thammarat. This boy is referred to in Japanese records as O-In, which some people believe to be a corruption of Okkhun. I cannot agree to this. Some scholars are inclined to think that Yamada came to Siam in A. D. 1620 or 1621, but favour A. D. 1620. If this date is correct, the son I have referred to must have been born of a Japanese

mother in Japan and accompanied his father to Siam, when a little child. I am not prepared to accept either A. D. 1620 or 1621 as the year of the coming to Siam of Yamada. We find a letter from Yamada to Doi Toshikazu, dated 13th May 1621, in which he informed this high dignitary that the King of Siam was sending an embassy composed of two officials named Khun Phichitsombat (ขุนพิชิตสมบัติ) and Khun Prasert (ขุนประเสริฐ) to the Court of the Shogun, and asked Doi Toshikazu to be so kind as to arrange that these ambassadors be presented to and granted an audience by the Shogun. Yamada sent a personal present of two shark skins and two hundred catties weight, approximately 266 lbs, of gunpowder. Is it likely that Yamada, a palanquin-bearer in Japan (a man of no position), would be entrusted by the King or the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the important duty of writing to a high official in Japan about such a delicate matter as a diplomatic mission immediately after his arrival in Siam? For Yamada's letter to be of the slightest value, it is necessary to suppose that Yamada was well known to be a trusted servant of the King, by the Court and other high officials of state of Japan. Furthermore, it is significant that Yamada sent a personal present of gunpowder. Now Siamese gunpowder at that time had the reputation of being the best in the East and could not be exported without the royal sanction. The Siamese embassy sent to Japan, referred to above, carried a personal letter from King Song Tham (A. D. 1621) to the Shogun of Japan, telling him of his desire that the trade between the two countries, which was already considerable, should be further increased. The King then went on to say that he had appointed Khun Chai Sunthon as head of the Japanese community in Ayudhya and therefore the interests of Japanese traders and others would be well cared for. Yamada's letter went with this royal despatch. The Khun Chai Sunthon mentioned in the King's letter is generally believed to have been Yamada, but I have some doubts about this. It is possible that a mistake has been made by the translator and that the official referred to held the title of Khun Chaiya Sura (ขุนไชยสุระ). This seems the more likely, as the title Khun Chaiya Sura was the one held by the Paymaster of the Japanese troops (สมุหบัญชีกรมอาสาญี่ปุ่น). If my surmise is correct then Yamada may have become the Adjutant or Palat Krom (ปลัดกรม) with the title of Khun Sura Songkhrum, before becoming Okya Senaphimuk. For these reasons only, I dismiss

A. D. 1620 or 1621 as the year of Yamada's arrival in Siam. Yamada must have come to Siam many years earlier, probably in the reign of King Ekathosrot, and, that having gained the King's favour, was an important personage amongst the Japanese community and well known to the Shogun's representatives who, one supposes, came to Siam from time to time, although it does not appear in the diplomatic correspondence between the two countries that the Shogun ever sent an embassy to this country. This belief of mine is supported by a statement in the work written by Francis Caron and Joost Schouten entitled *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*. On page 84 under the heading *Their correspondency with Strangers*, we find this statement:

"The Japanners hold no correspondency at all abroad, having never yet sent their Ambassadors into any forraigne countries, except China, which they have also long discontinued. The King of Spain, the Pope, and the King of Siam, have sent several extraordinary Ambassadors to this Court, which were indeed honourably received and feasted, *though never any returns made again by this Prince.*"

If this is true the Shogun and his Ministers could only have known of the high position held by Yamada through reports conveyed to Japan by the captains of trading vessels or by the Siamese envoys several years prior to A. D. 1621.

There is another point to be considered and that is the age of Yamada's son at the time of his father's death. There is no evidence to show that Japanese women accompanied their men to Siam, nor does it seem likely that they did, for not only was the voyage full of perils but the lives the men led was adventurous and surrounded by danger. It is possible that Yamada brought his baby son with him, but this is not likely. I therefore accept the theory that Yamada married a Siamese wife by whom he had children. There is a story extant, that Yamada's wife was a lady of the royal blood and there should be no obstacle to accepting this as being true, for a lady of rank below that of Princess (หม่อมเจ้าหญิง) could marry a commoner. Supposing that Yamada's wife was a lady of this position, then she would be able to advance his interest as she had the right of entry to the inner chambers of the palace. I am inclined to think that Yamada came to Siam about A. D. 1610 or even earlier and was probably not quite fifty years of age at the time of his death.

It may intrigue the reader to know where this man Yamada, who played such an important part in history during the reigns of four Kings, actually lived. The foreign settlements in Ayudhya were established outside the city. It is certain that Yamada, even at the zenith of his power, lived outside the city in the Japanese settlement known to-day as *Ban Yipun*, for van Vliet records that when Okya Kalahom wished to see Okya Senaphimuk, who refused to attend the palace audiences, he went to him secretly, travelling by boat on the river, and again when Okya Senaphimuk who had been cajoled into accepting the appointment of Governor of Nakhon Sri Thammarat was returning to his house, his boat nearly capsized in the river owing to the weight of the many presents showered on him. The Japanese settlement was situated below the other foreign settlements on the east bank of the river. An explanation of the topography of the city and the foreign settlements has been given in Part V. of this critical analysis, which deals with the Japanese in Siam.

(2) YAMADA'S OFFICIAL POSITION IN AYUDHYA.

From what van Vliet tells us about the position of Yamada in the Court, it is clear that he had been raised to high rank, for he attained the title of Okya Senaphimuk, a title specially created for the officer in charge of the Japanese volunteers in the military service of the Kings of Siam. When this title was first created, judging from the *Sakdina* law (มณฑลศักดินา), said to have been promulgated by King Ekathosrot, it was only that of *Okphra* not *Okya*. Working on this analogy, it would be but reasonable to assume that a Japanese had held the position of *Okphra* Senaphimuk, perhaps in the reign of King Naresuan, prior to its being conferred on Yamada. This is confirmed by Siamese history, for an *Okphra* Senaphimuk commanded a body of five hundred Japanese volunteers in the army of King Naresuan, who were present at the battle in which the Crown Prince of Burma was slain (A. D. 1593).

It would seem that when Yamada first joined the service of the King, he held a minor position. He may have held a civil appointment, Khun Chai Sunthon, as head of the Japanese community or he may have been Khun Chaiya Sura, the Paymaster of the Japanese troops; but be this as it may, he rose step by step until became the head of the Japanese soldiers serving the King. There is on evidence to show that he ever led the soldiers in war. Yamada

was always in attendance at the court, like any other Siamese nobleman, and the position he eventually attained as Okya Nakhon Sri Thamarat was that of a Governor or Royal Commissioner, a position which included that of the chief of the military forces, somewhat akin to the position of a British Governor, who is also Commander in Chief of the Forces.

There is some doubt as to whether Yamada held a military position in his youth; but if he did, he was not a soldier in the modern sense of the word, though he possessed, like many Japanese, all the qualities of a soldier. It was usual in those days, and for many years after, to transfer a man from a civil to a military title, and the title of Senaphimuk in the military hierarchy was given him as being the Chao Krom Asa Yipun (เจ้ากรมอาสาญี่ปุ่น), which may be translated as Chief of the Japanese soldiers. Phra Ong Lai himself had always held Court appointment as Chamün Sri Sorarak (จันทน์ศรีวรราช) and Okya Sri Worawong (ออกญาศรีวรพงษ์), but he eventually received a military title as Okya Kalahom Suriwong. His real title was probably ออกญมหาดเลขาบดีวิชัยภักดีบดีนพรัตนพรภา ย์อภัยพิริยบารมมหาสุหระพระกลาโหม which means, shortly, the Chief Minister of State in charge of the Kalahom (Ministry of Defence). The words used in this title all have military implications.

Yamada was a man of great spiritual courage and of devoted loyalty to the Royal House he served. A Japanese holds loyalty to the Imperial House as the only ideal of his life, for which he will willingly sacrifice it. Yamada gave the same loyalty to the Kings of Siam as he gave to his Emperor. It is clear from what van Vliet said that Yamada was frequently tempted by Okya Kalahom to desert this ideal and to join with him in his plots to seize the Royal power. Yamada always resisted these attempts and continued to give his devoted loyalty to the King and his children. It would seem that Yamada was very susceptible to flattery. In his struggle against Okya Kalahom he was outmatched by the superior astuteness and the adroit language used by Okya Kalahom, who was a past master in intrigue. He was outwitted and fell into the snare prepared for him by the flattery which Kalahom showered on him. This weakness in the character of Yamada led to his death. In reviewing the career of a foreigner who has attained to high rank in the service of a country not his own, one should allow for the

difficulties which such a man has to face every day. He is a foreigner; he is not fully trusted; he is the envy of, and the target for all the darts of jealousy fired on him by the noblemen; and when such a man as Yamada had the military strength to impose his will at any moment on the noblemen or even on the King, if he desired so to do, one can easily understand the difficulty of his position and the necessity for accommodating his acts to the circumstances as they arose. This was the more necessary in the case of Yamada, as he refused to be disloyal to his ideal of service to the King and his children. If Yamada had not given way to Okya Kalahom and accepted the position of Okya Nakhon Sri Thamarat, there would have been a struggle to the death between the two men, in which Yamada would probably have been the victor, and the history of the country would have been very different from the history which we know.

(3) YAMADA'S INFLUENCE ON CURRENT EVENTS IN SIAM.

What I have already written is merely a sketch of the man, Yamada, and his position at Court. I now propose to fill in the picture, so that the reader may be able to have a better understanding of the character of this remarkable man, who played such an important part in Siamese history, and his influence on current events about which this history is silent. Yamada first appears in the political arena at the time of the death of King Song Tham, when the noblemen were divided into two factions regarding the succession. Van Vliet tells us that the dying King wished that his son, Chetthathirat, should succeed in opposition to the legitimate claim of his brother, Prince Sri Sin. The controversy led to a political crisis. Okya Sri Worawong, the confidant of the King, did all in his power to further the King's desire. Van Vliet tells us:

"That in order to remove all obstacles which might prevent his son succeeding, he (the King) desired by means of Okya Sriworawong to secure Okya Senaphimocq, the General of the Japanese, who are maintained by the Kings of Siam to the number of about six hundred; and this was done, Senaphimocq promising to the other and swearing solemnly that he would help to put the King's son on the throne. In order to give proof of his affection, Senaphimocq secretly lodged a good number of his Japanese in the Palace and its environs."

Okya Kalahom Suriwong of the reign of King Song Tham, who had been elevated to that rank from the position of Okphra Maha Amata-yathibodi as a reward for having saved the King's life when it was threatened by some Japanese seamen in the first year of his reign, attempted to seduce Okya Senaphimuk from his loyalty to the King, but failed. This Okya Kalahom was put to death in the reign of King Chetthathirat, because he supported Prince Sri Sin. This political crisis, about which van Vliet gives us full details, was a turning point in Siamese history. If Prince Sri Sin had ascended the throne the history of Siam would probably have developed in a way totally different from the course it actually took. Yamada, by supporting what he believed to be the true wishes of King Song Tham, and by his refusal to assist Okya Kalahom in placing Prince Sri Sin on the throne, gives us an insight into his character, which knew only of loyalty, a loyalty so strong, and so firm that it could not be seduced. This loyalty was the keynote of his life.

Van Vliet places on record an incident connected with this political crisis or its aftermath, which shows the nobility of character of Yamada and how he was ready to sacrifice his own life in order to succour the lives of his friends or those in distress. I give the story in van Vliet's own words:

"Those who were known to be attached to the late King's brother, or who had not clearly declared themselves when the late King wished to know their feeling in the matter, were at once arrested. They were closely imprisoned, and their houses and goods given over to pillage. Their slaves were taken from them, and at the same time the King had three of his principal prisoners taken from prison and cut in pieces at Thacham, (Tha Chang) one of the gates of the Palace, as disturbers of the public peace, and as having conspired against the true and legitimate heir of the Crown. Their heads and other members were exposed on various lofty places in the town to serve as a warning to those who might wish to offer opposition to this illegitimate succession. In addition, all their property was confiscated, and the King caused it to be distributed among his favourites.

"These three lords who were thus executed were among the most powerful, the most wealthy, and the most highly placed in the Kingdom, and in the previous reign (King Song Tham) had been greatly considered by the people and greatly loved by the King.

One was Oya Calahom, General of the elephants, who was one of the six leading Mandarins and one of the richest men in the Kingdom, possessing as he did more than 2,000 slaves, 200 elephants and a number of very beautiful horses. The second was Opera Taynam, General of the Cavalry, who had previously been Oya Berckelanh (ออกญาพระคัลง) for five years and two months on end, and in that position had amassed great wealth. The late King had honoured him with his special favour, because of his virtues and his eloquence. The third was Oloangh Thamtraylocq (ออกหลวงหมื่นไตรโลกย์), who had been governor of Tanassary, and who was a noble of great age and held in high esteem among them. It was solely the hatred of Oya Siworrawongh which brought about the death of these nobles, and they had not merited it.

"There were also taken from prison and led to the gate of the Palace two other nobles, to wit Opera Sersy Anerat (ออกพระศรีเนมัตน์) and Opera Tjula (ออกพระจุลา), bound and pinioned, the intention being to put them to death. But Oya Senaphimocq, General of the Japanese, saved their lives by embracing them and covering them with his body, in such a way that the blows of the executioner could not reach them without killing him, and by sending at the same time to Oya Siworrawongh to ask that they should be pardoned. This powerful intercession, joined to that of the ecclesiastics of the country, saved their lives, but they were deprived of their offices, their property and their titles, and even of their liberty, since they were confined in a close prison all the time till after the revolution of the administration, when some were executed, others exiled, and others set at liberty."

The revolution referred to by van Vliet took place in the year A. D. 1629, within which year Okya Kalahom executed Kings Chetthathirat and Athitayawong, and placed himself on the throne. Yamada, who had now come into great prominence, and displayed such loyalty to his noble ideals as to be a potential danger to Okya Kalahom, was got rid of and sent to Nakhon Sri Thamarat. These events constituted the revolution.

Events moved rapidly. On the death of King Song Tham which took place in April 1628, his son Chetthathirat was proclaimed King.

A Prince, a brother of the late King, who was a Buddhist priest highly respected for his sanctity and knowledge of the scriptures, was in residence at Wat Rakhang. This was Prince Sri Sin. Okya Sri Worawong, when holding the position of Chamün Sri Sorarak, had had adulterous intrigues with the wives of this Prince, and had also plotted to murder him, for which offences he was punished. (See Part IV). Prince Sri Sin was an everpresent danger to Okya Sri Worawong and, therefore, had to be disposed of, and disposed of quickly, because he had a strong claim to the throne and many faithful followers. Okya Sri Worawong turned to Yamada, the strong man, and solicited his help in a plot to bring about the death of this Prince. Yamada fell in with the plot, because the King's son was on the throne largely due to the support he had given to the late King's dying wish. I cannot do better than tell you what van Vliet says in his own words:—

"There seemed then to be wanting to both only the repose of spirit that they could not find, save in the death of the Prince, the King's uncle, who gave them umbrage by his refusal to come to court though he had been summoned several times. This rendered Oya Calahom uneasy, and by offers and presents he obliged Oya Senaphimocq (Yamada) to promise and swear to him that he would bring the Prince to Court in secular dress, since in that of an ecclesiastic no one would have dared to lay hands on him. To do what he had promised, Oya Senaphimocq found the Prince, and, pretending to share in his affliction at seeing himself thus deprived of the Crown after the death of the King, his brother, declaimed loudly against the execution, the banishment and the imprisonment of so many Mandarins and persons of quality. Enlarging further on the severity, bad conduct and cruel government of the King, and on the too great authority and power of the Oya Calahom, he protested to the Prince that he himself and several other Mandarins were so distressed about it that they had often deliberated among themselves as to the means they could take to kill the King as well as his Oya Calahom, and to raise his Highness to the throne. He added that if the Prince could be prevailed upon to go with him to the Court, he would use his Japanese soldiers and his friends to deprive the King of the Crown, to expel him and his favourite and to open to his Highness the way to the succession to the throne. Although he had been strongly advised not to do so, the Prince too readily trusted the

words of Oya Senaphimocq. He set out and went with this traitor straight to the royal Palace and seeing the Japanese guards at the gate, he made the more sure of the affection of Senaphimocq. But that disloyal man, starting to carry out what he had promised to Oya Calahom, told the Prince that, those friends whom he would find in the Palace being armed and waiting only the arrival of the Prince in order to begin to act, it was necessary that his Highness should put himself in the same state as they, and that he should quit his ecclesiastical robe, which henceforth would be of no use to him, in order to show himself a man of heart and action. The Prince made no scruple to follow this advice, and so throwing aside his robe, he appeared as a Prince. But scarcely had he entered the Palace in this state, with Oya Senaphimocq and with some Japanese soldiers, than he was seized and bound, and in this condition was conducted before the King. Oya Calahom, imagining that he had no more enemies to fear now that he had in his hands the only one who could serve as a pretext for rebellions and disorders, the only one who could put himself at the head of the discontented, thanked Oya Senaphimocq very heartily for this important service and made him very considerable presents."

It will be noticed that Yamada's acquiescence in this plot was gained by the arch-intriguer, Okya Sri Worawong, giving him very considerable presents. If van Vliet is right, this giving of presents and the acceptance of the same supports my theory that Yamada had a weakness in the armour of his character, which could be played on. Flattery and gifts swayed him in matters not connected with his ideal of loyalty to the Royal House, which was inflexible.

As will be seen from what has been written above, Yamada had given valuable support to Okya Kalahom in placing King Chetthathirat on the throne, and in securing him on the throne by joining Okya Kalahom in his plot to get rid of Prince Sri Sin, for Prince Sri Sin alive constituted a danger for Okya Kalahom. Okya Kalahom never diverged from the plan which he had prepared for his own elevation to the throne. Events moved in his favour. King Chetthathirat made a tactical mistake which brought about his death at the hands of Okya Kalahom some eighteen months after he was crowned. Van Vliet places on record what took place. The Court and the city were dismayed; the Ministers and noblemen were overcome by fear. This was Okya Kalahom's opportunity. He tried to gain the support

of Yamada for the nefarious intrigue to seize the royal power. Yamada was now more powerful than before and nothing could be done without his acquiescence. Okya Kalahom, by the use of all those gifts of political genius and suavity of manner which he possessed in such a high degree, tried to gain Yamada to his side. He failed, as Yamada refused to fall in with the plot which meant that he would have to dishonour himself by breaking away from the one ideal of his life, loyalty to the Royal House he served. This story is so interesting, and places Yamada on such a high pinnacle that I propose to give a few extracts from van Vliet:—

“The King having been executed, in the manner we have just described, the two Oyas, Calahom and Berckelagh, took advantage of the darkness of night, entered a boat alone, without any following of guards or slaves, and went to find Oya Senaphimocq, the Colonel of the Japanese, for the purpose of discovering his sentiments with regard to the election of a successor to the throne. Calahom put before him that the Kingdom could not exist without a King; that the great King, father of the one just dead, had left only several small children; that it would be dangerous to entrust the royal dignity with such young princes, and that it would be a pity to see so powerful a Kingdom governed by a child. He begged Oya Senaphimocq to consider if it would not be wise, in order to prevent all these inconveniences, to proceed to the election of some one of the most powerful Mandarins who should reign, and who should be crowned provisionally till the prince was in a position to govern in person, the idea being that this Mandarin should then renounce the dignity and replace it in the hands of the legitimate heirs. Oya Senaphimocq, discerning Calahom's intentions, replied to him that, if it was necessary to proceed to the election of one of the Mandarins, it would inevitably fall on his (Kalahom) own person, because, as he was of the blood royal, and the most powerful of all the Mandarins, no one else could be appointed without prejudicing him. “On the other hand,” said Yamada, “if they did elect you (Kalahom) everyone would have reason to condemn our actions and to believe that we took up arms only through partisanship, in order to favour your unjust designs and to cause to fall into your hands a violent and illegitimate dominion. And besides, if we select some one of the other Mandarins, it is to be feared that he will desire to remain master even after the Prince shall have reached years of discretion, and that, in order to secure the

crown for his own person and family, he will extirpate the whole Royal House." Further, he (Yamada) said, they must consider that already two Kings had been put to death, that much blood had been shed, and that it was time to put an end to the disorders, and to restore peace to the kingdom. His advice was that they should crown King the Prince, who was the eldest of the brothers of the one last dead, and that they should give the guardianship of his person, and the regency of the kingdom, to him, Calahom, who having been first minister under the last reign, was capable of giving good counsel to the king and of re-adjusting the affairs of the kingdom. He (Yamada) went on to protest that for his part, he would not consent that the crown should be put on the head of a stranger while there were princes of the Royal House who could hope for this dignity by the fact of their birth, and that he would oppose such a proposal with all his might."

Okya Kalahom, finding that he could not obtain Yamada's support for his plan and not wishing to bring Yamada and his Japanese into active opposition, proceeded to the Palace and called a meeting of the Council of State. This Council met the next day and it was agreed to place Prince Athitayawong on the throne, with the title of Athitya Chakrawong (อภิตยจักรวรรค์), and that Okya Kalahom, being closely related to the young Prince then only ten years of age, should be appointed guardian of the young Prince and Regent. Okya Senaphimuk was present at this meeting of the Council of State, and, finding that events had moved in the direction he wished, was satisfied. This resolution came to by the Council of State only brought about a lull in the ambitions of Kalahom. Van Vliet tells us in his *Historical Account* that Okya Kamhaeng (ออกญาหน่พ), a great nobleman had seated himself on the throne after King Chetthathirat had fled from the Palace, and that he had done this with the consent of Okya Kalahom. Okya Kalahom, therefore, feared that Okya Kamhaeng might resent his appointment as Regent and endeavour to remove him from his high position, in order that he himself might become King. Okya Kalahom now knew that he could not seize the supreme power as long as Yamada was alive and in the city. He therefore determined to get rid of Okya Kamhaeng and Yamada. A charge of rebellion was brought against Okya Kamhaeng who was executed. This execution brought Yamada on the scene as an

inflexible enemy of Okya Kalahom, but this arch-intriguer knew how to deal with him. Van Vliet, having given a graphic account of the events which led to the execution of Okya Kamhaeng, tells us that:

"Oya Senaphimocq had not been to court that day, but learning what had been done to Oya Capheim (Kamhaeng) and how he had been executed, he was greatly angered, particularly against Oya Calahom, since if he was not the instigator of the death, he could at least have prevented it by his authority, and by interceding with the King. At first he could not believe that Calahom had been Capheim's accuser, but he was angry with him because he had not himself been warned so that he might have spoken to the King. Thereupon, having gone to Court, he caused the body to be taken off the gibbet, and had it buried, weeping tears for his friend. This compassion of Senaphimocq was not pleasing to Oya Calahom, but he did not dare to show his displeasure because of the great authority of Senaphimocq and the consideration in which the Japanese were held."

Van Vliet now makes it very evident that Okya Kalahom conceived a great fear of Yamada. He says that Okya Kalahom began to circulate rumours in the city that Yamada had the intention of attacking the King in the Palace with the assistance of Mr. Sebald Wondereer, the Captain of the vessel *Pearl*, and his men. This rumour had no truth in it for Okya Kalahom had bought over Captain Wondereer by giving him a jewelled sword. The rumour, however, gained such credence that the Ministers and the people began to arm themselves against Yamada. This was not the result hoped for by Okya Kalahom, for if fighting started, it might be the end of his ambitions. He therefore determined to go in person and explain the situation to Yamada in order to prevent his taking decisive action. Van Vliet describes the interview in the following words:

"Calahom resolved to go and see Oya Senaphimocq in his house, and, having obtained an interview, he was skilful enough to lay before him so many reasons, and cajoled him so completely, that the Japanese yielded, conceived a very good opinion of the intentions and conduct of Calahom, renounced all his resentment, and promised an inviolable friendship, as also to espouse his interests in all eventual-

ties. This they both confirmed by a solemn oath with the usual ceremonies of the country."

Peace having thus been made between these two noblemen and their friendship having been solemnly confirmed, Okya Kalahom at once planned to rid himself of the one who alone could prevent him from carrying out his design to gain the royal power. The plan was to get Yamada with his Japanese out of the Capital by conferring on him the high appointment of Governor of Nakhon Sri Thamarat. This plan succeeded. Yamada accepted the appointment, which was sanctioned by the King. Okya Kalahom's fear of Yamada was so intense that he was not satisfied with placing several hundred miles between himself and the man he feared, for van Vliet tells us that instructions were sent to Nakhon that the death of Yamada was to be brought about. I will now relate the events which led to the death of Yamada.

Yamada, probably, accepted the position of Governor of the Southern provinces simply because he trusted the deceitful words of Okya Kalahom that he would do no harm to the young Prince Athitayawong. The events, which led to his leaving the capital to take charge of the administration of the Southern provinces, have been described above. What happened there during the rule of Yamada and the manner of his death as well as what took place after has been graphically described by van Vliet. The story he tells us is probably true, although it differs from the Japanese account recorded in the *Tsuko-ichiran*.

Van Vliet tells us that when Yamada arrived in Nakhon Sri Thamarat, he found the province in a state of rebellion. He and his Japanese soldiers were so feared that their presence in the province was sufficient to quell the disorders. Yamada meted out punishment to all who were concerned in the revolt, and made use of the former Governor as his adviser and kept on friendly terms with this man's brother, Okphra Amorarit.

Yamada sent a report to the King stating what steps he had taken to re-establish the authority of the King and the great success which had attended his operations. Okya Kalahom, who by this time had ascended the throne as King Prasat Thong, was much disturbed at the rapidity with which Yamada had carried out the work of suppressing this rebellion, but dissimulating his real feelings, suggested to the Council of Ministers that great rewards should be given to

Yamada and his officers for the eminent services rendered to the State. The Council agreed with the King, and many rich presents together with beautiful girls and women were sent to Yamada. Amongst the women was one of high rank, whom Yamada could marry in accordance with the custom of the country.

Yamada, on hearing of the execution of the young King Athitaya-wong in contravention of the promise given to him by Okya Kalahom, and that this nobleman had seized the royal power, gave voice to remarks which had better not have been made. When Yamada recovered from his anger and emotion he outwardly gave expression to feelings of loyalty and fidelity to the King. He ordered great festivities to be organised in honour of the coronation and accession of King Prasat Thong. This astute monarch had sent secret instructions to the former Governor to get rid of Yamada and his Japanese. Yamada, on his part, conceived a great distrust of this man, but continued friendly with his brother. At this time (probably at the end of A. D. 1630) the Patani Malays raided Patalung and Nakhon Sri Thamarat. Yamada drove them back, but was wounded in the leg. The wound was not serious, and Yamada was making preparations to marry the young lady sent from Ayudhya. Okphra Amorarit, the brother of the Governor, suggested the application of a plaster to the wound to hasten the healing. Yamada, who was anxious to consummate his marriage, agreed. The plaster was poisoned, and in a few hours Yamada was dead. This story must have been the one current in Ayudhya at the time, and heard by van Vliet.

The story given us in the *Tsuko-ichiran*, differs from that of van Vliet. This work says that when King Song Tham was dying he entrusted the guardianship of his son Chetthathirat to Okya Kalahom and Okya Senaphimuk. These two noblemen should hold the office of guardian alternately for one year, and during such period the other nobleman should live in Pipri (Petburi). After the King's death Oya Kalahom became guardian and Oya Senaphimuk retired to Petburi. The Queen Mother fell in love with Okya Kalahom and a clandestine love intrigue followed. The Queen Mother poisoned her son, having the desire to place Okya Kalahom on the throne. This act of murder was hastened, because the young King Chetthathirat, being cognisant of the immoral conduct of his mother, determined to have Okya Kalahom executed. The King lost the game. This murder was kept secret. The Queen Mother gave

out that her son had died of a sudden ailment, and she gave him a royal cremation. Yamada, in Petburi having heard what had taken place in Ayudhya, sent a special messenger there to find out the truth. Yamada was informed of the love intrigue on the part of the Queen Mother, of the murder of her son, and of the Queen Mother having placed herself on the throne as reigning Sovereign. Yamada was so enraged that he determined to collect forces, attack Ayudhya, put to death the Queen Mother and her paramour, Okya Kalahom, and place the young Prince Athitayawong on the throne. The Queen Mother became afraid when told of Yamada's intention. She sent an emissary named Chanthra (จันทรา) to Yamada to tell him that the young King had died a natural death, and that she had taken the reins of Government in her own hands temporarily in order to prevent disturbances in the Kingdom. She invited Yamada to Ayudhya to consult with him regarding the appointment of a new King, which question when settled, she would abdicate. Furthermore, Chanthra informed Yamada that the Queen Mother knew full well that Yamada had been misled into believing in the truth of the acts imputed to her, which story had been invented and circulated by enemies desiring that harm should befall her. She denied the accuracy of the story in a personal letter sent to Yamada, in which she also said that she would appoint Yamada's son, O-In, to be the Governor of the Provinces of Nakhon Sri Thammarat and Patani, and that she would send the appointment order later. Yamada told Chanthra that he accepted the word of the Queen Mother and that he was much pleased at the appointment given to his son.

O-In went to the southern provinces and entered on his appointment. When Chanthra was in Petburi hospitality was shown him by Yamada, and a dinner given in his honour, which hospitality was reciprocated by Chanthra. When this emissary returned to Ayudhya he reported to the Queen Mother that, notwithstanding the sweet words of Yamada he was convinced that Yamada distrusted her and Okya Kalahom, and would take steps to wreak his vengeance on them, and that being so convinced, he had put poison in Yamada's food, which would bring about his death in three months' time. The Queen Mother was delighted at what Chanthra had done, for she now felt sure that her powerful enemy was disposed of. When Yamada realised that he had been poisoned and that death was

imminent, he instructed his officers to order O-In to take revenge on the Queen Mother and Okya Kalahom.

This story cannot be true. The love intrigue imputed to the Queen Mother seem like an echo of the intrigue between the Lady Sri Sudachan (ท้าวศรีจุฬาลักษณ์) and Khun Worawongsathirat, during which she murdered her son. There is no evidence to support the story related in the *Tsuko-ichiran* just quoted, that King Song Tham appointed Okya Kalahom and Okya Senaphimuk to act alternately as guardians of the young King Chetthathirat, and that when one of the guardians was in office, the other should retire to Petburi, nor is there any evidence to uphold the story that Okya Senaphimuk lived in Petburi, but rather to the contrary; for we know that Okya Senaphimuk was in daily attendance on the King, except for those periods when he was in disagreement with the policy of Okya Kalahom, but even then he remained in his house at Ayudhya where van Vliet tells us he was visited by Okya Kalahom.

I am inclined to brush on one side the whole of this story recorded in the *Tsuko-ichiran*, and to accept van Vliet's version of what took place as correct. However, there is one interesting point in the story, and that is the manner in which Yamada was poisoned: the poison administered would only have fatal effect three months after it was given.

It is believed that the people of the provinces south of Petburi, who are not pure Siamese, having mixed with the Indian colonists in ancient days, frequently used a medicinal concoction known as *ya sang* (ยาสัง) in order to procure death. This poison does not have an immediate effect, the progress is gradual, being accelerated or slowed down according to the food taken by the person poisoned. Death, however, is inevitable.

In some of the Japanese works treating of the life of Yamada, he is called the King of Ligor or Nakhon Sri Thamarat. The title of King as applied to Yamada has been the cause of much misunderstanding as regards his real position. However, the question presents no difficulty to one conversant with the titles given to Governors of provinces in the south. All Governors of these southern provinces were called Raja or King up till quite recent times. The Malays, Europeans and even the local Siamese inhabitants spoke of their Governor as a Raja. When I came to this country in A. D. 1897, this

appellation was still in use. The people spoke of the Raja of Ranong, the Raja of Tha Luang, the Raja of Phuket, the Raja of Nakhon Sri Thamarat, the Raja of Songkhla (Singora), and even the Governor of Langsuan was given locally the title of Raja. This title, however, was not conferred or recognised by Ayudhya or Bangkok, but was one of local usage only.

[To be Continued].

NOTES AND QUERIES.

RECENT ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH WORK IN SIAM.

Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales, Field Director of the Greater India Research Committee, whose activities have been made possible through the munificent assistance of several interested maecenae among them His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, has spent a series of cold seasons on excavation and research work in different parts of Siam during the years 1934 to 1936. The object of this work being to study the influx and penetration of the ancient Indian culture into Indochina and Insulinde.

The reports of this research work have been published in *Indian Art and Letters* Vol. IX, No. 1 and Vol. X, Nos. 1 and 2. (I have not read No. 1 of Vol. X which treats of further excavations at Phong Tük).

The first season's work was confined to the Siamese part of the Malay Peninsula and consisted of some diggings at Thung Tük, Takuapa; ⁽¹⁾ a survey of the ancient Indian emigrant's route from Takuapa across the hill range and down the Menam Luang to Bandon; further excavations at Vieng Sra and Nakon Sri Thammarat and a study of the architectural and art forms of the temples in and around Chaiya. The conclusions of Dr. Wales' researches are, among others, that Professor Coedès was wrong in placing the capital of the hinduized Malay Empire of Srivijaya at Palembang on the East coast of Sumatra. Dr. Wales opines that Chaiya was the capital of Srivijaya and that from Chaiya radiated the cultural influence which produced the various art and architectural schools that flourished in Cambodia, Champa and Java.

(1) This site has already been described, though not in detail, by the late Mr. H. G. Scott in *Notes and Queries—Remarks on the land routes across the Malay Peninsula* by Mr. F. H. Giles, *JSS*, Vol. XXVIII, Part 1, 1935, pp. 82-84.

Prof. Coedès has, however, in his admirable and concise paper *A propos d'une nouvelle théorie sur la site de Srivijaya*⁽¹⁾ shown that the Javanese influence in the temple architecture of Chaiya may very well have been due to a reflux, from south to north, of Indian culture which had then already been stamped with the impress of that particular art form which we call the Javanese. Furthermore, and this is the decisive point, the position of Chaiya in a cul-de-sac could never have enabled it to play the rôle as the capital of thalassocracy from where the Maharaja could dominate the States of Malacca. As Prof. Coedès says:— It is a geographical impossibility! To which all unbiassed students of Indonesian history must agree.

With regard to the famous Sailendra dynasty Prof. Coedès says that it was probably a Javanese dynasty of which a branch became the sovereigns of the Srivijaya Empire.

As far as we understand the placing of Palembang as the capital of Srivijaya may now, in view of recent finds, have to be given up in favour of another place more rich than Palembang in archeological remains from that time but as this new place is also situated in Sumatra and on the East coast of that island it does not in the main weaken the position of Prof. Coedès.

Dr. Wales is of course quite right in stressing the importance of Chaiya, which in the 7th–8th century A. D. was most probably a large and populous town situated perhaps at a former outlet of the Menam Luang, and because of its being the terminus of the ancient overland route from Takuapa it must have been a thriving trade emporium.

The numerous ruins of formerly imposing and noble temples as well as the remains of innumerable dykes of ancient paddy fields which overall in the jungle stretching far away to the west of the present town are eloquent witnesses to Chaiya's erstwhile greatness.

The second expedition organized by the Greater India Research Committee, during the winter 1935–36, took Dr. Quaritch Wales and his plucky wife to the ancient now deserted town of Mu'ang Sri Thep (Sri Deva) which is situated on the left bank of the Sak river on its lower course. Here Dr. Wales has done real and meritorious pioneer work. This ancient site had not previously been visited by any competent archeologist with the exception of His Royal Highness Prince Damrong Rajanubhab who made a brief survey of the old

(1) *JRAS.*, Malayan Branch, Vol. XIV, Part 1, December 1936.

town in the year 1901. Mr. F. H. Giles, the present President of the Siam Society, visited Mu'ang Sri Thep in 1907 but did not study the ruins there; and the Dane, Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. Andersen of the Provincial Gendarmerie, just missed seeing it when on a lengthy inspection tour in 1925.

Dr. Wales is thus the first one to undertake a more thorough-going study of this very interesting ancient place.

Dr. and Mrs. Wales spent 3 weeks at the old town which they mapped out while studying the various temple ruins found there. Dr. Wales recognised two cultural epochs of Sri Deva, as he prefers to call the place: namely, an early one of the 6th century which was Indian and Brahmanical, and a later one which was Khmer and also Brahmanical.

Dr. Wales describes the town plan as typical Indian and non-Khmer. To this we would like to say that the ordinary Khmer towns were generally built in a square and so were the Indian towns too to be in accordance with the *gāstras*.⁽¹⁾ The plan of Mu'ang Sri Thep, as given by Dr. Wales, thus rather suggests the outline of one of these prehistoric, more or less circular or eggshaped, fortified places of which a number are met with in the big forest, Khok Luang, that extends to the south of the towns of Khorat, Phimai and Buriram on the north-eastern plateau, and which were probably the work of primitive Khmer or Chaobun (Niakuol).

When the Indian emigrants reached the place where Sri Thep's temples later on were to raise their pinnacles they probably found a not wholly uncivilized Chaobun population living in such an earth-walled town.

Dr. Wales discerns between monuments of pure Indian and of Khmer origin. We shall not occupy ourselves with those of the latter style which are well known to all students of Cambodian art. With regard to the buildings classified by Dr. Wales as being of pure Indian style and said to be strongly reminiscent of the brick temple at Bhitargaon in the Cawnpore district (5th to 6th century A. D.) I would, though not questioning Dr. Wales' or Dr. Stella Kramrisch's authority on Indian temple architecture, suggest that a detailed comparison with the elements of the primitive Khmer style be made

⁽¹⁾ See Monsieur Victor Goloubew's *Cosmographie et urbanisme chez les Khmers* published in the report on the Congrès International des Sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques, London 1934.

before the Sri Thep temples are adjudged to be of a purely Indian origin and as such "the ancestral form which, as the result of evolution and the effect of late Pallava influence, produced the rich type of primitive Khmer architecture, and that it alone is the one certain example that remains to witness to the nature of the ancient architecture of Fu-nan" ⁽¹⁾ I have not been to Mu'ang Sri Thep myself but by comparing the plan and transverse section given by Dr. Wales ⁽²⁾ with similar plans and transverse sections given by M. Parmentier in his monumental work *L'Art khmer primitif*, ⁽³⁾ and lately in his *Complément à l'art khmer primitif* ⁽⁴⁾ I was struck by the almost identical traits and even details of the Sri Thep temples and those now recognized to belong to primitive Khmer art.

The above suggestions of mine also hold good with regard to the sculptures as found and described by Dr. Wales.

A visit to Mu'ang Sri Thep by one of the trained archeologists of the École Française d'Extrême Orient would no doubt help to clarify the position, proving or modifying the views as set forth by Dr. Wales.

The author mentions the "Imperial route of ancient Funan" following the Mūn river from east to west and crossing a pass in the hills that form the western escarpment of the Khorat plateau, just opposite Mu'ang Sri Thep. A closer study of that ancient route would perhaps explain the reason for the existence of that row of old strongholds which stretches from Ubonrājadhani in the east to the fortress of Mu'ang Semā Rāng (situated to the north-west of Sung No'n in Khorat) in the west. Were they erected as a protection for that ancient route? I hope in a later paper to be able to treat of the many old fortified places found on the Khorat plateau (as far as memory serves there are more than one hundred of them) of which a certain number might have been constructed for the purpose of protecting the navigation on the Mūn river at a time when this water course was navigable the whole year round and as such constituted an important military as well as commercial high-way.

(1) See *The Exploration of Sri Deva, an Ancient Indian City in Indo-China* by Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales in *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. X, No. 2, p. 21.

(2) Op. cit. pp. 12 and 18.

(3) Reviewed by the writer in *JSS*, vol. XXII, part 1, 1928.

(4) *BEFEO*, Tome XXXV, 1935.

Dr. Wales, in treating of what he calls the four Main Waves of Indian Cultural Expansion, says that the third wave, which lasted from the sixth to the middle of the eighth century A. D., radiated from the Bay of Bandon on to Cambodia (and Siam?) where in combination with the pre-existing Gupta style of Funan it developed the pre-Khmer or primitive Khmer art.

In my *Complément à l'Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge* p. 34-35 under "Hin tang," I mentioned a number of standing Buddha images of red sandstone which are found on the plain that expands to the south-west of the road connecting King Ampho' Ban Chuan with Ampho' Chaturat. These images are no doubt in the Gupta style, perhaps modified into the so-called Dvāravatī art, and may go back to the Funan period. In the same treatise I mention also (p. 36) the find of a stela with a Sanskrit inscription hailing from Mu'ang Phu Khio Kao. Prof. Coëdès opines that the form of the letters of this inscription shows that it dates back to the 7th-8th century A. D., and that the king mentioned, Çri Jayasimha-vāmarāja, may have been a local Tchen-la prince.

In connection with the further study of the cultural remains found at Sri Thep it would perhaps be worth while to ponder on the possibilities of a link between Sri Thep and the above mentioned principality.

Dr. Wales has also written an interesting article in "Man" for June 1937 on *Some human skeletons excavated in Siam*. During excavation work carried out at the ancient place at Phong Tūk on the banks of the river Meklong in the province of Rajaburi, in Western Siam, during the winter of 1936-37, Dr. Wales' working party dug out at a depth of 4' 8" below ground level 10 human skeletons all lying at full length and with their heads roughly pointing to the west.

Dr. Wales says that according to his calculations this part of the Meklong Valley has been silting up since the 6th century A. D. at the rate of about 1 foot to 450 years, he therefore concludes that these warriors (there were found corroded iron weapons with the skeletons) lived about the 1st century A. D., provided they had not received artificial burial.

In any case he thinks they cannot date from later than the 6th century A. D. As Dr. Cave of the Royal College of Surgeons in London has classified the skulls as belonging to the Thai people. Dr.

Wales draws the conclusion that Thai colonies were already established in the Meklong and Menam Valleys in the early centuries of the Christian Era, a theory which is supported by Mr. F. H. Giles in his *Koh Lak Tradition*⁽¹⁾ who goes so far as to say that the existence of these Thai colonies "cannot be doubted". His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat, in *Publications of interest in other Journals* in the same issue of JSS, adds that "in view of Phya Nakon Phra Rām's contentions based upon the evidence of pottery Dr. Wales' contentions would seem to be possible". It will be remembered that the late Phya Nakon Phra Rām in his learned paper on *Tai Pottery*⁽²⁾ contends that Mu'ang Chalieng was founded by Thai emigrants as early as 500 A. D.

Dr. Wales therefore is of the opinion that the existing theories of Thai immigration into Siam should be revised. Instead of a Môn population, as hitherto thought, inhabiting the ancient so-called kingdom of Dvāravatī the finds may indicate that the Môn were only a ruling caste or merely that the Môn language was the fashionable language of that day.

To all this seemingly overwhelming evidence of a Thai people inhabiting even Lower Siam already during the first centuries of the Christian era, instead of a Môn people, there is the following to say:—First of all the position of the above mentioned skeletons, the manner in which they were orientated and the placing of their weapons at their side all prove most emphatically that here is a case of artificial burial. They can not therefore, provided that Dr. Wales' calculations with regard to the deposit of silt are correct, be older than from the century. Next, as long as no more finds of this kind have been made at the same latitude and in the other river valleys, the theory of a settled Thai population in this part of Siam at that far off time should not be accepted in general.

The Thai warriors killed in fighting at Phong Tūk may simply have been a band of adventurers coming down from the far North. Supposing, however, we were to accept the theory that there existed Thai settlements on the lower courses of the rivers Meklong, Suphan and Menam Chao Phya already in the 6th century A. D., then such settlements could only have been few, small and far between. I still

(1) JSS. Vol. XXX, part 1, p. 18.

(2) JSS. Vol. XXIX, Part 1, p. 23.

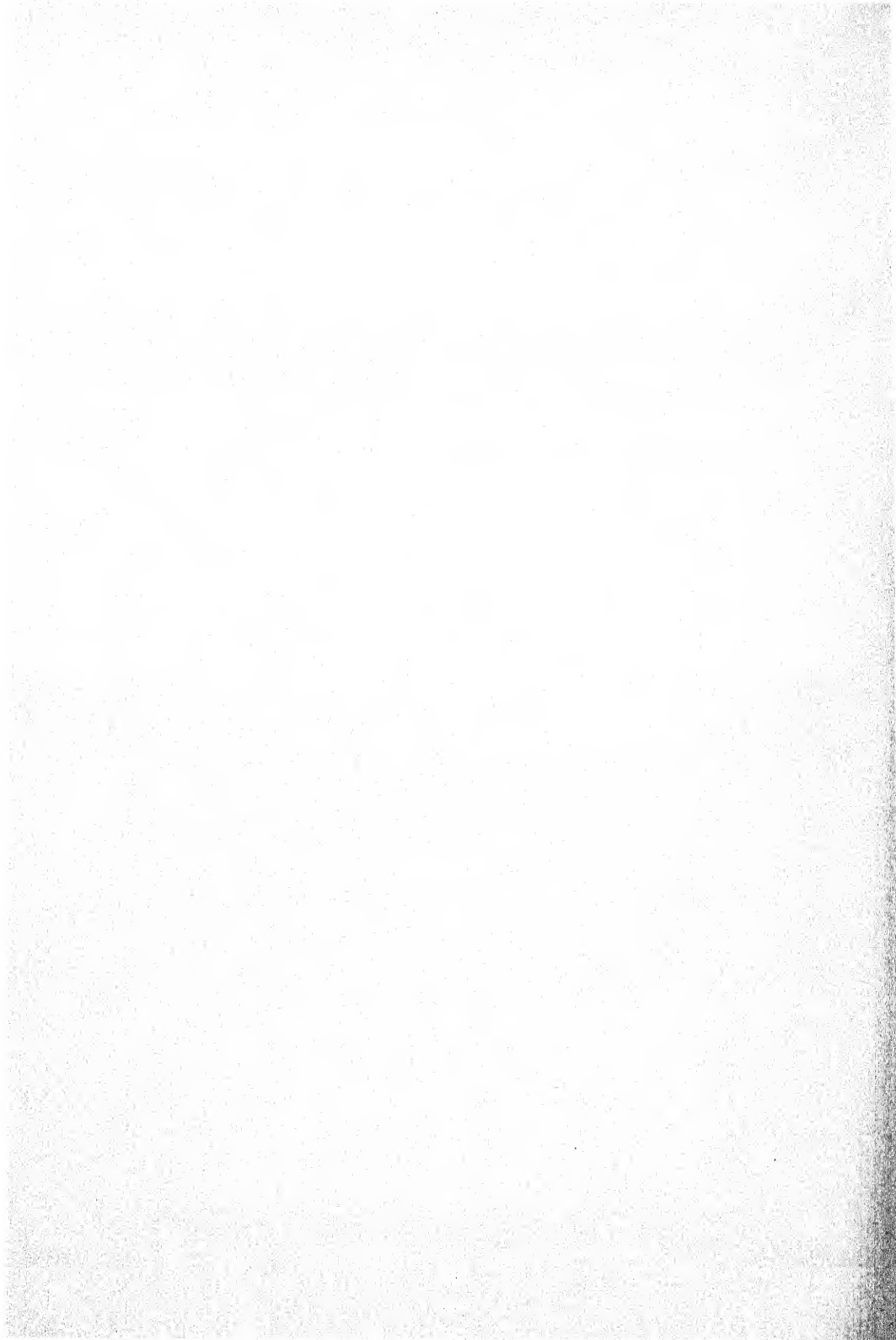
believe that the bulk of the population of the so-called Kingdom of Dvāravatī in the 6th century as well as before and after for several centuries, was Môn or rather a Môn people mixed with Melanesian or Melanoid elements. For doing so I rely on the evidence of the statuary of that period.

Monsieur Dupont of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, Dr. le May and I myself hold that while the earliest Buddha images of Dvāravatī were in pure Gupta style they later on deteriorated and degenerated, taking on a coarse and almost negroid appearance. As M. Dupont says they approached the "national type" in the 9th century. This goes to show that the overwhelming portion of the population inhabiting Siam at that time must have been Môn and *not* Thai. If otherwise, the images would have born the impress of the features of the Thai.

Finally a word about the date of the foundation of Mu'ang Chalieng. The late Phya Nakon Phra Rām seems to have been very bold in fixing many of his dates for the immigration of the Thai into this country. I believe for instance that the date of the foundation of Mu'ang Chalieng has been antedated by at least a couple of hundreds of years. If there already at 500 A. D. existed a strong Thai power in Chalieng it would hardly have been possible for the petty Môn kingdom of Lophburi to colonize Northern Siam and establish a kingdom at Harinphūnchai (Lamphūn) and Khelangkhā (Lampang).

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, August 1937.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

RAYMOND PLION—*Fêtes et Cérémonies Siamoise* 125 pages with 50 illustrations,—Firmin-Didot et Cie—Paris, (1934).

Monsieur Plion, the French Consul in Bangkok, has already spent a number of years in Siam and travelled extensively in the country, whereby he has had the opportunity to witness many of the most important of those colourful and spectacular ceremonies which alas! no longer form an integral part of the spiritual life of the Siamese nation. M. Plion has studied the Siamese feasts and ceremonies with intelligent interest, and, though the outcome of his efforts does not represent what science strictly could expect, it satisfies the demand for a more popular presentation of these interesting and ancient rites and ceremonies, handed down from generation to generation from a hoary past, than the elaborate descriptions given in Dr. Quaritch Wales' more learned work on Siamese State Ceremonies.

M. Plion's book has had a good reception in his home land, so good in fact that the Académie Française has awarded him a share of the celebrated "Prix Montyon" as an acknowledgement of his work.

In his preface the author voices his fear that the new régime will result in the disappearance of the national dress and the old traditional ceremonies. His fears have now been amply justified. The *phanung*, that beautiful and practical piece of dress, has already almost disappeared from our streets and public gatherings. A pity, indeed, as it represented something really original and very befitting. As a nether garment, especially for men, its equal in convenience and charm cannot be found, but we fear it has "gone west" for ever. Several of the old popular and spectacular ceremonies such as those of *Raek Nā* or the Ploughing Festival, and *Tri Jampharway* or the Swinging Festival, are no longer celebrated, and more are no doubt to disappear.

The cutting of the top knot called *Kon Chuk* is now but rarely seen, as also the pretty water festival of *Loi Krathong*. Both of these rites were, however, already dying out under the *ancien régime*.

It has been argued that such mediaeval customs had better disappear in our time which is dominated by science, the motor car and the cheap tripper.⁽¹⁾

We are not sure that such an argument holds good for any country or people, European or Oriental. Anything which can assist in staying the ever oncoming spirit of materialism should be welcomed. In this country, with its still somewhat primitive (and healthy) peasant population, the disappearance of these links with a glorious past is only to be deplored.

The celebration of such rites may still have a certain functionalistic value as Dr. Wales says in the above mentioned work, and, to quote the author of the present book, can certainly very well go together with the most modern forms of progress.

M. Plion writes well, entertainingly and vividly, and we have only a few comments to make.

It is noteworthy that whereas almost every other book dealing with Siam attributes more or less god-like qualities to the White Elephant in describing the attitude of the Siamese towards it, the author of this little book has been singularly accurate in his understanding of the regard paid to the White Elephant in this country. It might in fact be likened to a kind of a rare article in the regalia of the Siamese king; and therefore it would be a matter of esteem and appreciation rather than worship.

With regard to the origin of the Swinging Festival, it is now generally recognized that this is to be sought in ancient Egypt, and that, in its primitive form, it was a solar ceremony and that the one as performed in Siam really consists of several ceremonies superimposed one on the other.⁽²⁾

On page 20, the *Boys-scouts siamois* should not be explained as *Tigres sauvages* for they are called *Luk Sua*, or *Tiger cubs*.

On page 51, *plumes blanches* should of course have been *plumes noires*

(1) See R. A. S. M. in his review of Mrs. M. Macleod's *British Calendar Customs: Scotland* Vol. I, in *Man* for July 1937 pp. 116-117.

(2) See Dr. Quaritch Wales—*Siamese State Ceremonies*, pp. 243-45.

On page 83, fourth line from the bottom, the author talks of Mong Don, a misprint from Nong Don, of course.

On page 92, it is open to question as to which Siamese word the author refers to. If it is the word *yen*, in *Mongyen*, then to translate it by *fraîche* would be wrong. *Yen* here does not primarily refer to temperature, but to the post meridian part of the day, just as one says 6 p. m. in contrast with 6 a.m.

On page 109, in the last line of the foot note, M. Plion speaks of the Garuda as the mount of Shiva. It should of course be Vishnu. The god Shiva's *vāhana* or mount is the bull Nandin.

The fifty illustrations enlivening the pages of the volume are all quite well reproduced and this little but excellent book is herewith recommended to all future readers.

I am indebted to His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat for the passage on the White Elephant as well as for the correctional notes referring to certain statements of the author on pp, 20, 51 and 92 of the book under review. For this kind co-operation on the part of His Highness I hereby beg to render my sincere thanks.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, 15th August, 1937.

WALES, H. G. Q. : *Towards Angkor*, 8 vo. 249 pp. Harrap, London, 1937.

Although much has been written about India's cultural influence over Indochina, little in the way of a complete treatment of the subject as a whole is available. This is notably so with regard to works written in the English language, especially now that a great part of Dr. Chatterji's *Indian Influence in Cambodia* has been rendered out of date by recent researches. It is on this account therefore that one welcomes Dr Wales' latest contribution to the study of what he calls "Greater India"—a terminology by the way that will not find general acceptance in view of the fact that this south-eastern corner of Asia has been no less influenced by the culture of the Chinese.

Dr. Wales' book takes us in a graphic manner along with successive waves of Indian colonists, taking what he has termed the "Trans-peninsular Route" by landing at Takuapa, proceeding to Chaiya and thence to Java, Champa and Cambodia, besides two other routes leading to Burma and to somewhere near the modern state of Kedah.

We are able to visualize in a realistic manner the establishment of an Indian state now known by its Chinese name of Funan, which included, according to Dr. Wales, Sri Thep, or Sri Deva, an ancient ruined town which the author believes to have been primarily Indian. We are conducted along the path of Thai migrations, leading up to their contact with more civilised peoples in what is now western and central Siam. His description of the city of the Prince of Uthong off the district of Songpinong in Supan is perhaps the only one available in a foreign language. We are then led up to the romance of the Sailendra or the "King of the Mountain"—the greatest of the Indian Argonauts—which is really (in the reviewer's opinion) the climax of this work. The description of the migrations culminated of course in the crowning triumph of Angkor.

In a critical consideration of *Towards Angkor*, it seems that two distinct points of view should be clearly kept in mind: that of the specialist and that of the amateur. The present reviewer, not being a specialist, will not attempt to tread on sacred ground when so much has been said and argued on the main point on which Dr. Wales differs from formerly accepted theories—the identification of Chaiya as capital of the Sailendra Empire. The question of the age of Sri Thep is dimmed by comparison. It still remains nevertheless for the mover to disprove the contention of the opposition.

From the point of view, however, of the amateur, a few additional remarks about this book may not be out of place. The book, as has been said above, is graphically presented. One cannot but admire the lucid statement of a subject hitherto treated almost exclusively from the scholar's angle. No real attempt seems to have been made formerly to present it for popular consumption in English. It is true that René Grousset's classic work (*Histoire de l'Extrême Orient*) is an authoritative monument, but it is not accessible to those who cannot read French. In this book under review, one detects the master-hand of an experienced teacher whose business it is—or rather was—to enable his audience to grasp the subject. One is therefore led to recollect the author's position as a master of the Royal Pages College, which in fact enabled him to obtain first hand knowledge of most of the Court functions in the reign of the late King Rama VI.

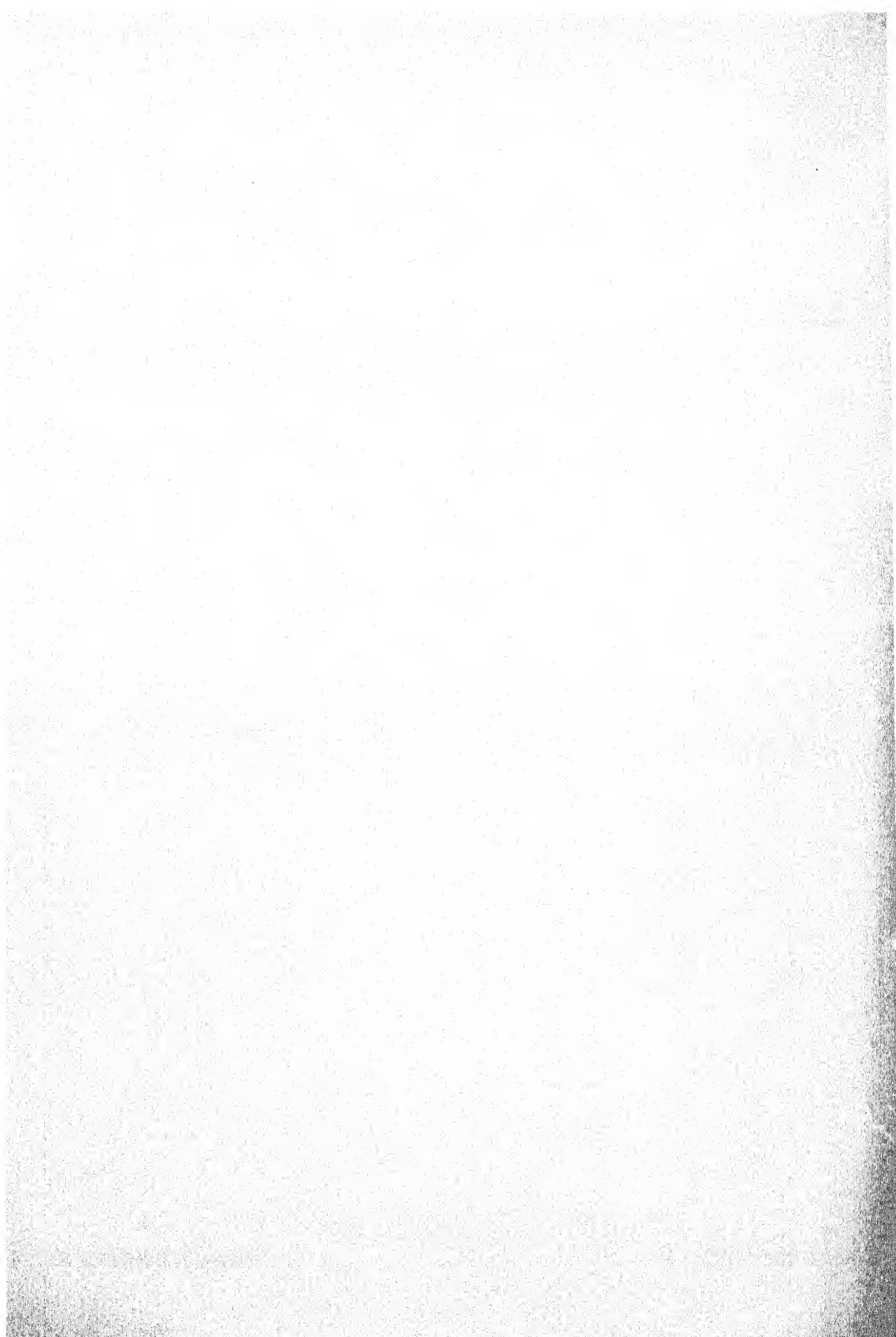
By way of detail, the attention of the author might be called to a few passages which seem to require modification. On page 62 *et seq.* the name of Phra Sundara should be Phra Sudhana

(or phonetically Sū-tōn). On the map on page 111, Basak looks much too far to the south. On page 122, one would like to bear in mind that Dvāravatī as the name of a state was *only provisionally adopted* by M. Coedès (*Recueil des Inscr. du Siam*, 1ère partie, p. 1, note), in the absence of a substantially proved name. On page 125, in connection with the Buddhist *credo* one wonders whether the author is referring to the stanza *Ye dhammā hetupabbhavā. . .*, which is not a profession of faith but rather a statement of the essence of Buddhism. What really corresponds to the *credo* is the *Namo tassa*, one of the best known formulae in the Buddhist Scriptures. On page 133, the twin name of Dvāravatī Sī Ayudhyā is a problem about which a note has been written for the *JSS*, and will probably be published shortly. On page 139, one wonders why clouds should bank up in the south west, rather than in the north east, if they mark the approaching end of the rainy season.

To sum up then, it is a clear and extremely well written résumé of all the latest archeological data on the subject, not to mention the author's own theories which, however, are not within the scope of such criticism as has been the aim of this short review.

D.

Bangkok, 16 December, 1937.



PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST IN OTHER JOURNALS.

Journal asiatique.

Tom CCXXIX, Oct.—Dec. 1936.

Lalou, M.: *L'histoire de Rāma en tibétain*, pp. 560–562.

A description of two Tibetan manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale of Paris, both originating from *Tsien fo tong*, on the subject of the adventures of Rāma. Comparison is drawn to the four manuscripts from Touen-houang in Chinese Turkestan, which have been studied and analysed by Professor F. W. Thomas in *Indian Studies in honour of Charles R. Lanman*, 1929, and especially to manuscripts marked A and B in the above collection. As with the MSS from Chinese Turkestan, the two Tibetan manuscripts are also incomplete, and each is of different redaction from the other, as well as from the MSS A and B. The title of one is incomplete; while that of the other is not mentioned. The story is told along accepted lines of the classical Ramayana, with of course Tibetanised forms of naming the principal characters, Rāma becoming Ra-ma-na, Sitā Zi-ta and so on.

Bulletin of the London School of Oriental Studies.

Vol. IX, Part 1.

Stewart, J. A.: *The Song the Three Mons*, pp. 33–39.

"This poem," says the author, "embodies two traditions found among the Mon or Talaing people of Burma, (1) that they came from the east coast of India in very early times, and (2) that they consist of three tribes, occupying three several provinces of the Mon country of Burma-Bassein, Pegu and Martaban." The three tribes are Mon Tang peopling Pegu, Mon Te peopling Moulmein or Martaban, and Mon Nya peopling "the old town" which is thought to be Bassein. Mr. Halliday, the authority of the Mon language, relying upon the Mon work on the life of the Buddha.

The Pathamabodhi, written in 1798, was inclined to assign the Mon Nya to Pegu, with which the author agrees and incidentally explained the derivation of Rāmañña as being from the phrase *Mon ruh Mon Nya*, meaning "The country of the Mon Nya." The author produces the text and translation and gives variants of reading for each of the three stanzas. The locality in India whence the Mons came over the sea to this side of the Bay of Bengal is clearly indicated as Telingana and the Coromandel (Koremonte) coast, and, as they were known to be the authority from whom old Siamese civil administration was derived, these three stanzas of "Song" are of considerable interest in this country. The poem is dated by the author as not later than the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Vol. 13, 1937.

Law, B. C.: *Studies in the Apudāna*, pp. 23-35.

A scholarly analysis of a section of the Tipitaka which is comparatively unknown, dealing at length with names of animals, plants occupations and geographical data.

Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Vol. XV, Part 2.

Loch, Ch. W.: *The Rhinoceros Sondaicus*, pp. 130-149.

This animal is still found in Siam among many other countries tabulated, the exact localities being Eastern Siam and on the Siam-Burma frontier.

van Stein Callenfels, P. V.: *The Founder of Malacca*.

Contains data concerning Parameshwara the first Malaccan king in supplement to Sir Richard Winstedt's *History of Malaya* in Vol. XIII, part 1 of that journal.

Journal of the Greater India Society.

Vol. IV, no. 2 1937.

Coedès, G.: *A new Inscription from Fu-nan*, pp. 117-121.

The inscription records the foundation of a hermitage, a tank, and a dwelling-house by a king of Funan. Although it is undated, the palaeography permits us to place it at the end of the 5th century A. D.

Indian Art and Letters.

Vol. IX, No. 2. 1937.

Mus, P.: *Angkor in the Time of Jayavarman VII*, pp. 65-75.

That the Khmer monarch was identified with the deity, at least in certain respects, is generally accepted. The author of this article has gone a little further to interpret Khmer architecture in the light of this cult. According to his interpretation, the causeway over the city moat into the city with its Naga balustrade was a representation of the pathway of the rainbow leading up to the heavens where was situated Meru the abode of the Great God (Siva), the interpretation being supported by the fact that two serpents in ancient mythology were connected with the rainbow. From the fact that the Bayon was a pantheon of Sivaite, Vishnuite and Mahayanist deities he developed the idea of identifying the faces on its towers as portraits of Jayavarman VII. its builder.

Whether or not one agrees with the above theories, the serpents on either side of the causeways have been understood to be representations of the serpent Vasuki taking its part in the churning of the ocean of milk. Mount Meru which was the pivot of the churning process is doubtless represented by the Bayon in the centre of the city. The same cult—that of the Devaraj—is obviously at the back of either interpretation.

Stutterheim, W. F.: *Note on a newly found fragment of a four-armed figure from Kota Kapur*, pp. 105-109.

The site of this find on the island of Banka had already yielded in 1892 a stone bearing an inscription in old Malay and Pallava characters dating from 686 A. D. with a mention of a military expedition of Srivijaya against Java. The present find is that of a figure of a male deity wearing a conical headdress of Further Indian images. (The headdress reminds us of figures at Sri Deva which Dr. Wales attributed to Indian art). The figure is further described as having non-Indian features such as a broad nose and thick lips etc. Dr Stutterheim concludes that it was a product of Srivijaya art.

Bulletin of the Colonial Institute of Amsterdam.

Vol. I, No. 1. 1937.

Those who take an interest in the comparative study of problems of South-Eastern Asia, especially in its cultural aspect, cannot do so

effectively unless armed with at least three linguistic media of information, namely: French, English and Dutch. One note therefore with considerable satisfaction from the foreword of this new Journal that it has been published with the object of creating an organ by means of which a double aim may be realised: "to lay before the world outside our own country and its dependencies, in the English language, subjects of current importance in the Netherlands Indies, and furthermore to inform the Dutch reading public of events and conditions in Pacific countries which deserve their attention. This first number deals with administrative matters such as the colonial Budget, Malaria, statistics, air transport, and a note on the Japanese mandate islands of the Northern Pacific. The last item is of international interest, quite brief (pp. 69-74), and has been written by J. S. van Vollenhoven, who concludes that: (1) there could be no legal objection to Japan's remaining mandatory for the islands after her withdrawal from the League of Nations; and that (2) with regard to her administration of them she must continue to submit to its supervision, failing which the mandate should be withdrawn.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
1937, Part 2.

Rhys Davids, C. A. E.: *The Self: an overlooked Buddhist simile*, pp. 259-264.

In Hinayāna Buddhism, points out Mrs. Rhys Davids, the conclusion has been drawn that since neither body nor mind is Self (attā), therefore there is no Self. This conclusion, she finds, to be deplorably wrong, and if only it had not been so, "what a history of error might have been averted". This view is based upon her interpretation of the simile in the *Lesser Saccaka Sutta* of the Majjhima Nikāya. Such a point of view, of course, brings up an entirely new aspect of one of the most important doctrines as accepted by Hinayāna Buddhism:

Law, B. C.: *Formulation of Pratityasamutpāda*, pp. 287-292.

A critical examination of the formulation of the idea known among Hinayāna Buddhists as *Patīccasamuppāda*.

Bulletin des "Amis du Laos".

1er Année, No. 1. 1937.

The debut of this new periodical is to be welcomed as an admirable step in the right direction. Every article of this number would merit

mention in this notice, many being from the pens of several *chefs du service* responsible for those lines of activity therein dealt with. The volume is prefaced by the Resident Superior of Laos, and the aims and project of the Society of the *Friends of Laos*, or *Mittasamākom Prades Lao* as it is called in the vernacular, are set forth by the Director of Public Instruction who is also president of the Society. Other articles which deserve special mention are those of MM. Marchal and Parmentier on Lao Art, one by M. - D. Faure entitled *trois fêtes laotiennes à Vientiane*, and a monograph by A. Boutin, the Resident, on the province of Houa-Phan. Very interesting maps accompany an article by the Director of Public Works on the means of penetration of the Laos, in which a main road is scheduled to connect that part of the French Colonial Empire with the two main outlets of Hanoi and Saigon. The field of Music and archeology are dealt with by Tiao Souvanna-Phouma. The number is copiously illustrated, and may be said to be distinctive in its details of Lao decorative work.

Silpakorn.

1st year, Nos. 1 & 2.

Another magazine making its debut during the current year is the *Silpakorn* published by the Fine Arts Department of the Siamese Government. It is also a step in the right direction. Its object is stated to be the "propagation and support of the national literature, archeology, arts and culture". The publication is of course in Siamese. Its tone is not limited to the academic consideration of those subjects, but largely educational also (e.g. an article on the elements of Music in the first number), and possibly something else too. It contains, besides, a considerable number of administrative records and regulations in connection with the activities of the Department of Fine Arts. A feature that should prove of great utility is the catalogue of works in the National Library. The catalogue is divided into two sections, Siamese and foreign. The first section starts with the class of literature known as the *Phra Rājani-phondh*, i. e. the King's writings. The two instalments so far published have covered those of the first four kings of the present dynasty. Had the editor been able to see his way to include a descriptive catalogue of manuscripts of Siamese Literature on the subject at the same time, the value of these catalogues would be doubled. The section dealing with foreign books in the Library is very short in both number

and needs more careful proof-reading. As to individual articles, that of Luang Boribal Buribhand in the first number, which might perhaps be translated as *The Characteristics of Buddhist Iconography as classified by periods*, is a useful resumé along lines already accepted by artists and archeologists. The second number is mostly occupied by material in connection with the new drama of *The King of Dhon-buri* by the Director-General of the Department, together with a critical note on the biography of a general of the same period. It seems doubtful however whether such a treatment of the subject could be taken seriously if subjected to the usual standards of historical criticism.

Dharmacakshu.

For some time past the King Mongkut Pali Academy of Wat Bovoranives has been reviving the publication of its periodical, well-known to those of a generation ago. The new periodical, while keeping up the former scheme of translations and commentaries of the Sacred texts of Buddhism, is distinguished for its initiative in popularising the Dharma. A translation of Yuan Chwang's Records of the Western World is an interesting feature from the pen of Phya Surindralujai, former Governor of Dhaññaburi.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1937

THE COUNCIL.

The Council held ten meetings during the year at which the average attendance was 11.

At the Annual General Meeting in February the opportunity was taken of strengthening the Council by the election of several new members. The following additional members were elected :

H. S. H. Prince Sakol	Dr. George B. McFarland
Phya Sarasastra Sirilakshana	Mr. Ong Thye Ghee
Mr. J. E. Davies	Mr. W. A. Zimmerman

MEMBERSHIP.

At the Annual General Meeting in 1937, Prof. W. Credner of Munich was elected an Honorary Member. In the course of the year thirteen new ordinary members were elected and eighteen resigned. One member (Mr. M. R. B. Bowes) died during the year.

On the 1st January, 1938 the membership was as follows:

Honorary	Corresponding	Life	Ordinary	Free
17	12	3	135	4

making a total of 171 as compared with 176 in 1936, 171 in 1935 and 189 in 1934.

PUBLICATIONS.

One part of the Journal, Vol. XXX, Part 1, 93 pages, was issued during 1937, and at the end of the year the Society had in hand an important number, Vol. XXX, Part 2 being a reprint of a rare translation of Van Vliet's Historical Account of Siam in the 17th Century, printed for H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, and translated in 1904 by W. H. Mundie, M. A., with critical notes by the President.

The Natural History Supplement Vol. XI, No. 1 was published in 1937. This contained a valuable paper on the riddle of the Schomburgk deer.

Craib's Flora of Siam Vol. II, Part 4, was in hand at the end of the year.

Dharmasastra: Progress on this work has been slow, and at December 31, 1937 the position was that plates 1-24 had been printed off; the Siamese text printed to pp. 1-25 and the English translation, pp. 26-32 has also been printed.

MEETINGS.

Eleven meetings have been held in 1937 of which six were Ordinary General Meetings, four were study-section meetings and one the Annual General Meeting.

The Ordinary General Meetings were as follows:—

1. February 8th, lecture by the Rev. Dr. Reichelt on *The Essence of Chinese Buddhism*.
2. May 1st, address by members of the Asiatic Primate Expedition of Harvard University.
3. May 6th, lecture by Mr. Kodando Rao of the Servants of India Society on *Eastern and Western Civilization*.

In the latter part of the year a series of lectures was given by the President, Phya Indra Montri, being parts of his paper derived from Van Vliet's Historical Account already mentioned under the heading of "publications." The lectures were read on behalf of the President by various members:—

4. October 5th, *Concerning some events in Siamese history*, read by Mr. C. J. House.
5. October 9th, *Yamada's position in Siam*, read by Phya Srithikarn Banchong.
6. November 2nd, *The political and economic position of Siam in the 17th century with particular reference to Japan*, read by H. S. H. Prince Varnvaidyakara Voravarn.

Of the study-section meetings, that of the Archeological Section was held on November 26th, when the Leader, Major E. Seidenfaden, welcomed M. Marchal, late Chief of the Archeological Service in French Indo-China. M. Marchal delivered a lecture entitled:—*L'art Khmer et les travaux de l'Ecole française de l'Extrême Orient*.

A meeting of the Ethnological Section on the subject of tribal dresses and two meetings of the Natural History Section are dealt with in separate paragraphs of this report.

PROPOSAL TO ADMIT ASSOCIATE-MEMBERS.

In June a sub-committee was formed to consider a proposal made by Mr. J. E. Davies that graduates of Siamese Universities should be admitted to membership at a lower subscription in order to promote enthusiasm in the Society's activities before their interest in academic pursuits had begun to wane.

The sub-committee consisted of H. H. Prince Dhani and Messrs. Zimmerman, Davies and House but the latter withdrew after the first meeting. They submitted a report to the Council recommending that associate-members be admitted within five years of graduation at Siamese or other approved universities, at a subscription of five baht per annum. Such members would not have the right to vote nor would they receive journals but they would have privileges of attending meetings and using the library.

A circular in the Siamese language was then sent to approximately 518 persons having the required qualification and a small number of acceptances was received. Subsequently by a majority vote of the Council it was decided to recommend an alteration of the rules in accordance with the sub-committee's report. This will be dealt with at the Annual General Meeting.

THE LIBRARY.

The work of collecting and binding journals received as exchanges from other societies has been well maintained.

Early in the year the Hon. Librarian and the Hon. Treasurer collaborated in destroying old files of correspondence and catalogues which were considered to be of no further value.

The Council sanctioned a reduction in price for sale to the public of sets of the first twenty-five volumes of the Journal of the Siam Society, complete with index. The new price is baht 320 per set and the Society's agents have been informed of this.

WILD LIFE PRESERVATION.

The visit of the American Primate Expedition early in the year drew attention to the value of preserving certain forest areas in

Northern Siam as National Parks where the natural flora and fauna could be completely protected.

The Council thought it opportune to re-open the subject of legislation for the protection of wild animal life which had remained dormant for several years. Accordingly a letter was sent to the State Council together with a file of the minutes of the Council of the Siam Society relating to the subject extending back over ten years. A reply was received in August stating that the State Council were giving the matter their urgent consideration; a law which was believed to meet all the requirements for protecting wild animal life had already been drafted and it was hoped to bring it into force before long.

At the end of the year the Society was asked to assist in preparing lists of flora and fauna considered to need protection in Siam in order to assist the work of the International Conference for the protection of the fauna and flora of Tropical Asia and the Western Pacific, which is to be held in London in May 1938.

Dr. A. F. G. Kerr has prepared a list of flora which he considers to need protection in Siam and a committee of the Natural History Section is engaged in preparing a similar list of the fauna needing protection.

NATURAL HISTORY SECTION.

Two meetings of this Section have been held during the year. On June 29th, 1937 Dr. C. R. Carpenter of the Asiatic Primate Expedition, gave an address entitled "Behaviour Research on Free Ranging Primates", and on September 22nd there was a meeting for the reading of short papers and the exhibition of specimens.

Accounts of both meetings have been published in the Natural History Supplement. Dr. A. G. Ellis was Leader of the Section throughout the year but resigned in December on account of his approaching departure from Siam. In a letter to the Council he expressed apprehension as to the future of the Natural History Section owing to lessened interest of members in meetings and to the paucity of material coming forward for publication in the Supplement.

TRIBAL DRESSES.

The long-awaited exhibition of the tribal dresses collected by the Society was inaugurated on the morning of Sunday December 19th,

Major E. Seidenfaden, Leader of the Ethnological Section, was in charge of the display and delivered a short lecture before proceeding to demonstrate the costumes in detail. The meeting attracted general interest and was very well attended.

Subsequently Major Seidenfaden repeated his lecture and demonstration in the Siamese language to the pupils of the General Staff College of the Army on 26th of December. Mr. E. Healey assisted in arranging the display by lending some frames of the Siam Art and Camera Club.

EXCURSION.

An excursion was made to Ayudhya and Bang Pa In on Sunday March 7th., 1937, the journey being made by rail in both directions. Dr. de Campos acted as Leader at Ayudhya and it had been intended to pay a visit to the sites of the former European settlements of which he has made a special study but this did not prove possible owing to lack of time. This excursion was well attended and thanks are due to the Royal State Railways for providing a restaurant car and special coaches.

SOCIETY'S BUILDING.

No repairs were required during the year and no further trouble with white ants was reported. In July the town water supply was brought into the premises and one of the lavatories was equipped with sanitary installation and wash-hand basin.

ACCOUNTS.

The Society's income was well maintained during 1937 and, without reducing the reserves, covered the usual expenses and provided for the cost of the new sanitary installation and water supply and for the blocks for the Dharmasastra volume.

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1937.

Receipts.		Tes.	Sigs.	Expenditure.		Tes.	Sigs.
To balance brought forward from 1936	...	...	629.27	By Clerk's wages	...	...	360.00
" Subscriptions,	1935	Tes.	75	" Caretaker's wages	...	...	596.00
do.	1936	"	225	" Postages & revenue stamps, Hon. Treasurer	...	...	33.71
do.	1937	"	2,875	" Postages & pelfies, Hon. Secretary	...	...	27.18
do.	1938	"	25	" Printing Journal, Vol. XXIX, part 2 & XXX, part 1	...	...	887.25
" Part Life composition	...	...	200.00	" Blocks for Journal	...	...	6.40
" Sale of Journals	...	...	219.55	" Printing N. H. Supplement, Vol. X, part 3	...	...	396.61
" Sale of Natural History Journals	...	...	56.00	" Photographs for ditto	...	...	34.00
" Sale of Flora of Siam	...	...	28.51	" Authors' separates (cost of covers only)	...	...	18.12
" Sale of "Coinage of Siam"	...	...	10.50	" Printing rules of the Society	...	...	6.50
" Sale of Stamp Catalogue	...	...	10.50	" Postage on distributing Journals	...	...	24.00
Harrassowitz- <i>a/c</i> sales	...	...	89.32	" Wrapping and addressing Journals	...	...	22.27
Interest on current account	...	...	7.47	" Printing and distributing circulars	...	...	49.06
Exchange adjustment	...	...	0.13	" Stationery	...	...	74.77
				" Electric light and fans	...	...	45.78
				" Water supply	...	...	5.00
				" Fire Insurance : Buildings	...	Tes.	86.67
				" Stocks	...	Sigs.	60.00
							146.76
				" Hire of 1' O. box	...	...	20.00
				" Books bound for library	...	...	53.25
				" Meeting expenses & cleaning materials	...	...	12.85
				" Editorial expenses	...	...	31.25
				" Advertisement of Flora of Siam	...	...	15.34
				" Blocks for Diarmasistra volume	...	...	264.00
				" Sanitary installation and connection of water supply	...	...	303.74
				" Repair of road	...	...	9.00
				" Cost of circularising re Associate-Member scheme	...	...	45.00
				" Brass letters for gates	...	...	12.00
				" Subscription refunded	...	...	25.00
							3,603.84
				By balance carried forward to 1938	...	...	817.41
		Tes.	4,471.25			Tes.	4,451.25

Subscriptions outstanding.

1935	Tes.	25
1936	"	100
1937	"	400

Number of Members as at 31st. December 1937.

Honorary	17
Corresponding	12
Life	3
Ordinary	134
	166

Reserve Fund Account.

To balance brought forward from 1936	...	Tes.	4,400.00
" Interest received	...	...	109.50
Total on fixed deposit	...	...	4,509.50

Examined and found to agree with the books and vouchers,

G. R. BROOKS,
Hon. Auditor.C. J. HOUSE,
Hon. Treasurer.

CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP.

ELECTIONS.

HONORARY MEMBER.

February 16th., 1938—Mr. R. S. le May.

LIFE MEMBER.

December 24th., 1937.—Phya Pradibaddha Bhupal.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

1936.

May 5th.,—University of California.

August 4th.,—Mom Luang Pin Malakul, Messrs. J. N. Becker, P. Sastri and P. Dupont.

October 5th.,—Mr. K. Rasmussen.

November 3rd.,—Y. M. C. A. of Bangkok; Mr. Y. Nitta.

December 8th.,—Dr. C. S. Lechner.

1937.

January 5th.,—Dr. W. H. Kneedler.

February 2nd.,—Messrs. E. Neville and A. J. Edden.

March 2nd.,—Mr. J. F. Hutchesson.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Elected at Council meeting March 2nd., 1938.

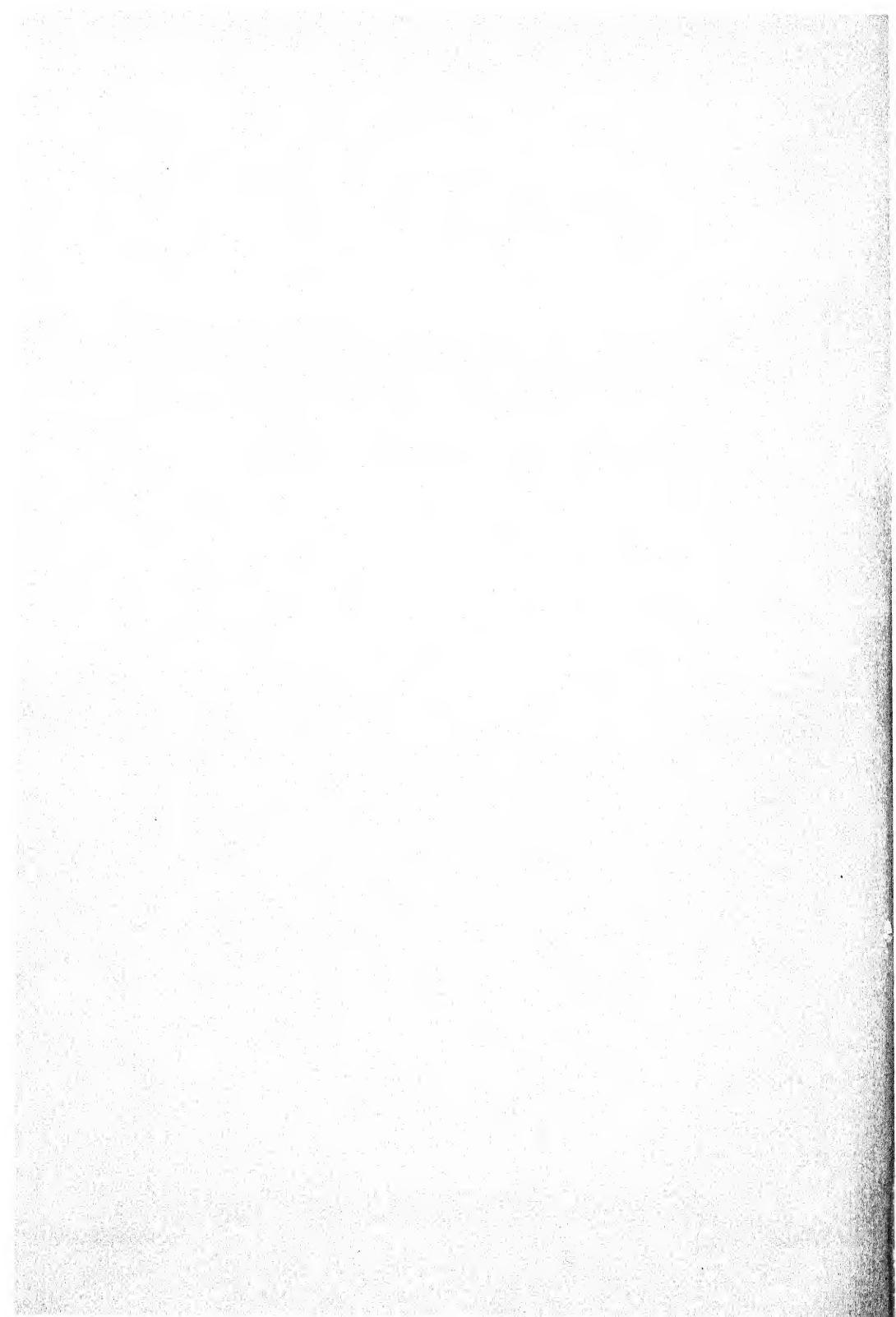
Nai Pue Rochana Purananda.	M. R. Sumanajati Svastikul.
Nai Bongs Sakuntasut.	Nai Tüak Kusuma na Ayudhya.
Nai Kia Hui Mangalapruk.	Nai Prachuab Ladbli.
Nai Prabanda Bodhibhakti.	Nangsao Samruay Svetasreni.
Nai Tong Law, Sugandhaman.	Nai Siri Tuyyanonda.
Nai Chuan Boonkham.	Nai Boon Song Chancharoen.
Nai Prasiddhi Kirtiputra.	

DIED.

Mr. M. R. B. Bowes (November 1937).

RESIGNATIONS.

Mr. Ang Kiaw Goan.	Sir R. Holland	Mr. A. F. N. Thavenot
Mr. J. Bailey	Mr. G. Levy	Mr. Th. Ziegler
Mr. A. H. Ballantyne	Chao Kavila	Conseil des recherches
Mr. G. R. Brooks	Mr. H. Minnigerode	scientifiques de l'In-
Mr. H. Christiansen	Mr. J. Haverkorn van	do-Chine.
Mr. E. Grut	Rijsewijk	



ALTERATION IN RULES.

ADMISSION OF ASSOCIATE-MEMBERS.

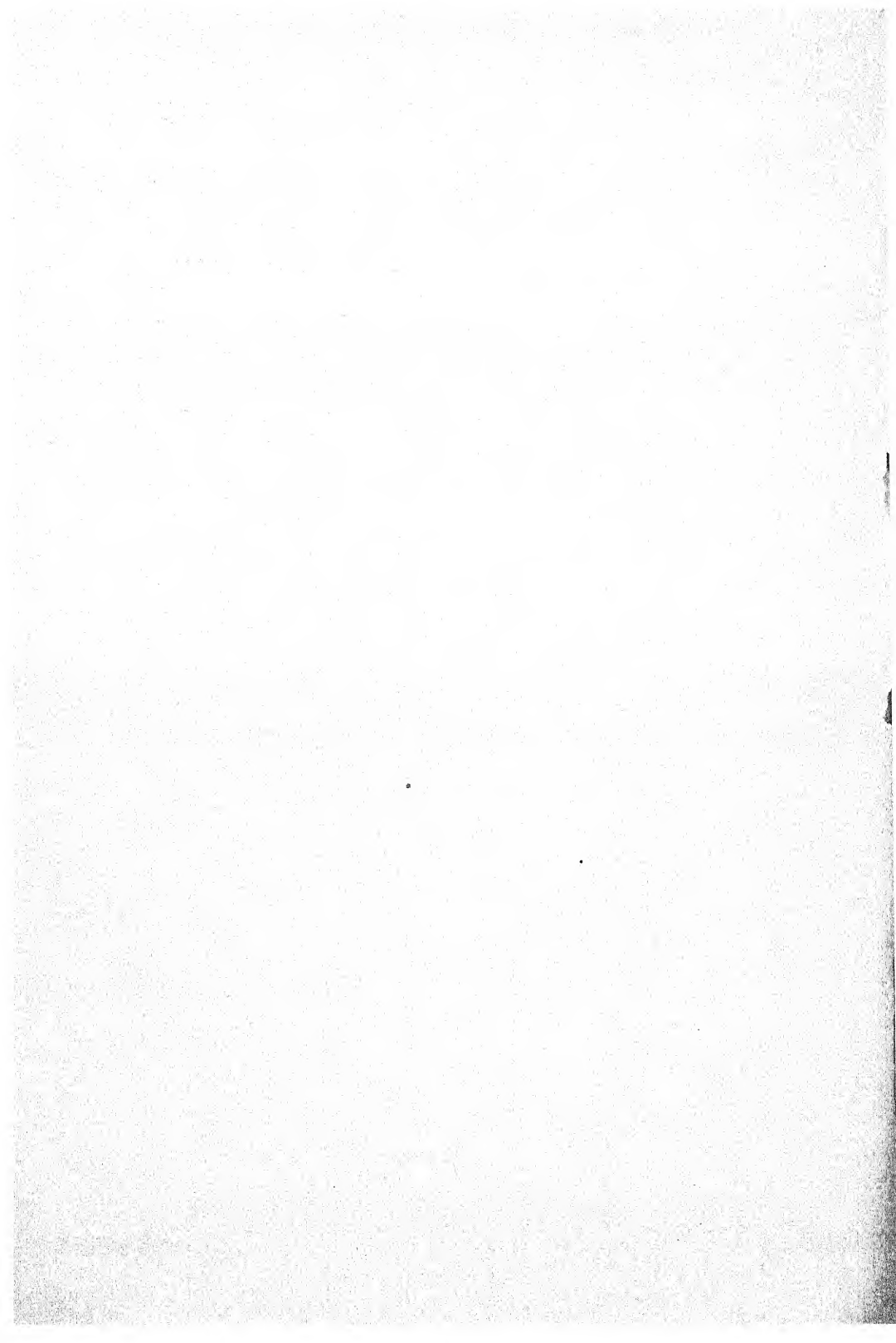
At an Ordinary General Meeting held on February 16th., 1938 a resolution was passed by the necessary majority to alter the rules of the Society as follows:—

In rule 5:— The word “three” to be altered to “four” and after the word “corresponding” add “Associate.”

In rule 7, after the words “entrance fee” add new paragraph:—

“Graduates of the Chulalongkarana University and the University of Moral and Political Sciences of Bangkok or of any other Institution of higher learning approved by the Council, may join the Society as Associates at a reduced subscription of five baht per annum for a period not exceeding five years from the date of their graduation, with every right of membership save that of voting at meetings and also those provided for in rule 22 (para 2) and in rule 32.”

The meaning of these new rules is that a grade of Associate-member is created; they do not receive the Journal free of charge and have no rights of voting or of summoning extraordinary meetings.



PART SEVEN.

*Concerning the political and economic position of Siam in the
17th Century with particular reference to Japan.*

(1) IN THE EKATHOSROT PERIOD A. D. 1605-1620.

Japan was torn by internecine wars prior to 1603. The Ashikaga Shogunate collapsed in 1573, when the power fell into the hands of usurpers. The third of these, Hideyoshi, was one of the most able men Japan has produced. The power of the usurpers passed into the hands of Ieyasu, an officer, who had fought under Hideyoshi. With the accession to power of Ieyasu in 1603, the Tokugawa Shogunate came into being. It was from this time that Japan began to enjoy peace and prosperity.

During these internecine wars many soldiers who had fought in them left Japan. It would seem that many must have come to Siam, for we find a reference to a body of five hundred Japanese soldiers fighting in the army of King Naresuan at the battle in which the Crown Prince of Burma was defeated and slain (A. D. 1593). These men must have come to Siam before that date. It is stated that their commanding officer had the title of Okphra Senaphimuk. It may be due to the migration of these soldiers to Siam that Siam became known to Japan. We find that three years after Ieyasu became Shogun, he entered into political relations with Siam. In 1606 this Shogun despatched a letter to King Ekathosrot. The envelope holding this letter was addressed to two foreign officials, Fernando Miguel and Jacobe Quananaranka. In this letter the Shogun asked that scented wood and cannon be sent to him, and on his part sent as presents for the King three suits of armour and ten long Japanese swords.

In 1608, a second letter, dated 17th November, came from Japan asking for heavy cannon and gunpowder, which the Shogun appraised as having wonderful qualities. This time six suits of armour were sent. On the 7th October 1610 the Shogun wrote a personal letter to the King in which he thanked His Majesty for the kind messages he had sent to the Shogun in the previous year, and for his promise to send heavy cannon and gunpowder in the next year by a trading vessel. The Shogun sent fifty pistols for the King and fifty pistols for the Foreign Minister, Okya Phra Khlang, as well as one suit of armour, one sword and one double-edged dagger. The Japanese

Foreign Minister wrote to Okya Phra Khlang, thanking him for the promise to send heavy cannon, and also expressing a hope that Siamese traders would visit Japan.

Students of the diplomatic intercourse between Siam and Japan at this period have been led to believe that the last letter in this diplomatic correspondence during the reign of King Ekathosrot was the letter dated 7th October 1610. Mr. Gunji, a learned Japanese scholar, says, in his work entitled *The correspondence between Tokugawa Shogunate and Siamese King at the beginning of the Tokugawa period*, that a Siamese envoy was sent to Japan in A. D. 1616. The credentials of this embassy were only found in quite recent times by Assistant Professor S. Iwao of the Formosan University. It will thus be seen that there was considerable diplomatic activity between Japan and Siam in the reign of King Ekathosrot, Japan having taken the initiative. Copies of the letters from the Shogun and his Foreign Minister exist, but the letters from Siam are not to be found, except the credentials mentioned above.

It would seem that in the month following the despatch of the Shogun's letter, dated 22nd October 1606, the Japanese port authorities were authorised to permit Siamese ships to trade with Japan, but it would appear that advantage of this permission was only taken in 1612. This permission for Siamese vessels to trade with Japan, granted in 1606, and taken advantage of in 1612, does not mean that there was no trade between the two countries before that date. The export trade of Japan was carried on under a system of licenses or trading passports. Vessels, leaving a Japanese port, whether commanded by a Japanese or a foreign national, had to obtain a licence approximating to a port clearance pass, which had to be surrendered on the return of the ship to Japan. There are records in the Japanese Admiralty to show that fifty-three of these licences were issued between 1592 and 1615. It is possible that many of the surrendered licences or trading passports may have been lost. This record also shows that the Japanese exported goods in their own vessels to Ayudhya, Nakhon Sri Thammarat, Patani and the Malay country. As this licence trade system only governed the export trade in vessels leaving Japan, it was necessary to obtain special authority for foreign vessels to enter Japanese ports, and this is the reason why the Shogun granted such special authority for Siamese vessels to trade with Japan at the end

of 1606. There is a curious act on the part of the Shogun, which is worth recording. In 1604, the Shogun granted three licences to Japanese traders domiciled in Siam to trade with Japan. This is proof that Japanese were settled in Siam in this year, and must have been there for many years before. This licence system remained in force, probably, till 1636, though the records do not go beyond 1615.

This short sketch of important events in this reign shows that Ieyasu realised the value of being on friendly terms with a power in South Eastern Asia, which by its military prowess had thrown off the yoke of Burma and established its authority over a vast territory. Burma had brought Siam under subjection in 1564, and ruled the country through the Royal House of Siam till 1569. In that year Siam rebelled and was again conquered. The Burmese King removed the King and appointed as his Regent, Phra Maha Thamaracha, who ruled in the name of Burma till 1590. In that year Prince Naresuan, a son of this Regent, declared himself King and independent. Burma sent an army under the command of the Crown Prince, who was defeated and slain in 1593. King Naresuan, having broken the fetters of this yoke and freed Siam, used his energies in reconsolidating the Kingdom. He made Burma fear him; the southern provinces and the Malay States were made to understand that they had a master; territory on the Bay of Bengal once again came under Siamese suzerainty; Cambodia was crushed; and the northern Princes of Chiengnai, Lampang, Chieng Saen and Nan were forced to pay homage and give allegiance to Siam. King Ekathosrot, himself a soldier who had fought by the side of his brother in all the wars, reaped the fruits of his brother's military genius, and, realising that a country could only be strong if it had powerful friends, reciprocated the offer of friendship made in 1606 by the Shogun. The King also knew that a sound economic condition was a fundamental requirement, if his country was to move along the road of progress. He, therefore, not only cemented friendly relations with foreign states, but also did all in his power to foster trade. He welcomed foreign traders, particularly Japanese, Dutch and English, and granted them the privileges of residence, protection, and the right to trade. His own trading vessels were commanded, and manned by foreigners. His Court attracted men of many nationalities, several of whom were given patents of nobility. Amongst the

Europeans, the Dutch were the most favoured, for Portugal was losing its position and credit in the East.

The position of Siam in this reign was so strong, that not only did the Shogun desire her friendship, but the King of Tongu, then the paramount power in Burma, sent an embassy to the Court of Siam craving protection, as he feared a rebellion on the part of the Mon. The Mon people, who rebelled against the King of Tongu, also sent envoys and asked for protection. The King of Lanchang, seeing the trend of political events, also sent an embassy asking for the protection of King Ekathosrot.

The relations between Siam during the reign of King Ekathosrot and western nations were more extensive than are generally believed. The *Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century* (National Library, Bangkok) supplies us with the following interesting information.

During the reign of King Ekathosrot and the Kings, who succeeded him in Ayudhya, a political and commercial struggle was taking place between the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, English and eventually the French. Each of these nations was intriguing for political and commercial supremacy in Siam and her seaboard provinces on the Bay of Bengal. At the time of which we are writing, the Dutch had established themselves in Java with their headquarters at Batavia. The centre of Portuguese authority was at Goa in India where the King of Portugal was represented by a Viceroy. The English, although commercial opponents of the Dutch, had come to an understanding with these people under which they were allowed to establish commercial depôts in the Dutch possessions. The power of the Spaniards was waning and the French did not come on the scene till towards the end of the 17th Century.

King Ekathosrot in 1607 sent an embassy to Holland. We know of this from two documents, one from Mr. Gabriel Towerson at Bantam to the (English) East India Company dated 16th December 1607, and another dated 4th January 1608 from the King of Portugal to his Viceroy at Goa. I quote these two letters in full as they show what was taking place at the time and the fears entertained by the nations concerned.

Gabriel Towerson to the East India Company.

Dated Bantam, 16th December 1607.

The 9 December came into this road the Moritious (? Mauritius) from Patania, where they got no cargo. They brought along with them 16 men

of Siam, whereof 4 are principal, which are sent by their King to the King of Holland upon an embassy carrying with them a present of rubies and other stones and to treat of friendship between the two Kings, besides some other weighty affairs of Cargoes, by the Flemming reports. But the ambassadors do deny it, for when I did ask them the question they were very angry at it, saying that their King was a great King and needed nothing the Hollander had but this, that if they will come and trade in his Country as other nations do, they shall be as free there as the Portugals (Portuguese) or other nations, and that they go into Holland to see their Country, their buildings, towns and ships, and if they require anything it shall be shipwrights, carpenters, and other handicrafts men, because, as it seems, their merchants there had told that their King is a great King and will grant them all this. But at their coming to Bantam the Admiral gave them very little, being very angry with the merchant that brought them, so that it stands in suspense whether he will carry them into Holland or be King himself, take their embassy and present, and send them back to Siam again . . ."

The King of Portugal to his Viceroy in India.

Dated Lisbon, 4th January 1608. (N. S.)

(26 December 1607 O. S.)

Likewise was I informed that it would be convenient to have a Fortress made in the lands of Martavan, which are depopulated, in order from thence to conquer them and populate them; And, although on this matter I ordered some information to be gathered in this Kingdom, we were unable to verify what would be most convenient to my service, hence I deemed it proper to remit it in council, taking into consideration that the rebels maintain much communication with the King of Siam, and took his Ambassadors to Holland with the aim of securing a league and friendship with him, assuming to found a fortress in one of the ports of his kingdom, as by this one I write to you; and if making it will prove a great inconvenience to Malacca and for the commerce of the South; And that this King of Siam is one of the greatest of those parts both in power of men as in wealth, and if the rebels introduce the exercise of war and artillery, as it is understood they are endeavouring to do, it will be an irreparable evil; And that by making a Fortress in Martavan, so close to the said Kingdom of Siam, it appears he will not dare to afford the Dutch the position they pretend to in his Kingdom, because the fortress of Siriam placed so much further from him, it stands that it will behove him to secure himself by peace treaties with the Viceroy of India, respecting which he sent Ambassadors, as the Governor writes; And that the Kingdom of Pegu is so wrecked and depopulated that it seems that in effect this fortress can be placed there without labour of war or much expense, because with it and the others the whole coast of Pegu and

Bengala will remain very much under subjection to my lordship, and that it behoves not to lose (as it appears necessary) such an occasion as this, and prevent by it that any other more powerful enter in; And after considering all these reasons on both one and the other side, and what else may further appear, you will advise me of all, and finding that the greater weight bends to the opinion that the said Fortress in Martavan should be erected, and that by the delay of awaiting my reply an occasion may be lost, after being well informed in this matter and doing all that can be done as quickly as it behoves, you will set it in hand at once, and execute what you should hold as most convenient."

If the King of Portugal is correct in what he says, the Siamese embassy to Holland was conveyed to that country by the Dutch notwithstanding the obstructions put in their way by the English. The English continued their policy of penetration and advance in the East. The Dutch tried by all the means at their disposal except force to frustrate the policy of the English. The English got a footing in Ayudhya in 1612. The fears of the Dutch are well expressed in two letters from Dutchmen in Ayudhya to Hendrik Janssen a colleague in Patani. These letters are dated 2nd September and 5th November 1612, and should be of value to the historian. I quote them in full:

Cornelis van Nyenrode to Hendrik Janssen at Patani.

Dated Judea, 2nd September 1612. (N. S.) = 24 August 1612 (O. S.).

The English ship has arrived here outside the river, and the merchant called Adam came on the 29th here in the town and directly informed the mandarins that the vessel was outside the town with letters from the King of England, addressed to His Majesty here. Then His Majesty sent Adam with Opra Chula and some *prahus* thence yesterday to fetch those letters and the captains, as the King is very much pleased that another nation has arrived in his country; so their (the English) trade cannot be prevented, as you and Lambert Jacobson know very well that this King tries to attract every nation to his country. But what they (the English) ask for here and how they ask we will advise you as soon as possible, or if we have no opportunity you will hear it from Mr. Nienroot (van Nyenrode), who will start from this place within 15 or 16 days with the junk of Okpra Rajsidhi. If the English bring any Dutch or English Merchandise with them they will obtain here what they like with their presents, as they are very liberal. . .

Janssen has prevented a certain Okkhun Sriyot (probably a Chinese), an ambassador, from sailing with the English by simply keeping him in his vessel for 4 or 5 days. Of course the ambassador was wild over it and

would commit suicide for the dishonor done to him and his Prince. This writer has heard from another of his countrymen, called Okkhun Chin, who had arrived with the same ship and brought letters to the Okya Praklang. The same Okkhun Chin seized this opportunity to tell something more of the Dutch, viz., that Okya Praklang would bring the case of Okkhun Sriyot before the King; that the Dutch had taken his oath that he should not accompany the English to Siam; that he had not received a single penny from the Dutch and that Lambert Jacobson in the presence of all the mandarins in public had made a fool of him and thereby had offended his King; that the Dutch factor had offered him 4 or 5 tael when he saw that Okkhun Chin intended to sail with the English. The Dutch, of course, denied this, and told this to Mr. Adam, as they thought Okkhun Chin was bribed by the English. Mr. Adam, however, said he did not know anything of it, and confirmed by oath that the English had not given any order for it. Mr. Adam promised to punish him, but would not promise to prohibit him delivering his letters to Okya Praklang.

The treaty with the King of Ligor was already in sketch (written by Oran kaya Tuwen Amer de Radje), viz.

Freedom of tolls and duties, no trade-allowances to other nations, a house of stone walls, and allowances to build all the G. G. (Governor General) would like that should be built. The Chinese too will not have to pay anything more than the ordinary tolls and duties, nobody being allowed to do them any harm or cause them any trouble, like those of Patani do.

The King told them that he consented to this as he had promised it verbally to Mr. Janssen and Mr. van der Lecq; that he did not want any money, but should like to have some cloth and Dutch Merchandise, which the factors promised to send him. Though they were very much surprised all this was granted to them without any presents being given, still they advise Mr. Janssen to provide them with something to present to the King, as with presents much more can be done than without.

They obtained from the King that Mr. Cornelis (van Nyenrode) could leave the country; the former, namely (....?), had two letters to be delivered—one to the Governor General: 'that he expected to see the Governor General within a short time, that he had sent Ambassadors to him for that purpose, that he knew the Governor General was the representative of His Excellency the Prince, that he thus by seeing his representative, would see something like the Prince, that he would make a treaty with him, that he had to tell him many things secretly', etc.; the other also to the Governor General, containing a description of the countries Tenasery and Marghy (Mergui), which countries the King intended to give to the Dutch. The factors persuaded the King not to send ambassadors with Mr. Cornelis, etc. etc.

If the General comes, the English will not be in great favour with the King, as they cannot do very much against the Portuguese; also only a few of their ships visit the country.

Maerten Houtman to Hendrik Janssen at Patani.

Dated Judea, 5th November 1612. (N. S.)

(27) October 1612. (O. S.)

The 28th September the English received the key of the Godown and instantly began to repair it with windows, but as it is very much fallen to ruin, they will have to incur large expenses before they will have made something out of it, that at the same price nearly a new stone house could be built.

The 29th September as the water of "juremente" (allegiance) would be drunk, I was invited to come in, and in the afternoon when every one had drunk the water, the English were called in, of whom the captain and Mr. Adam came instantly, but Mr. Lucas remained behind, being indisposed; and thus the letter from His Majesty of England was read loudly, the contents being that the King of Great Britain, Ireland, Scotland and France sent his compliments to the Mighty King of Siam, and further asking only that the English should enjoy, under the protection of His Majesty, free trade and commerce, then that what this King would ask from the King of England the latter would do (if it was in his power) . . .

The Dutch would enlarge the place whereon their house was built and the English would build a bridge at the same time. They asked and obtained permission from the owner of the ground to buy it, if the King allowed, which the latter did.

The King went on a boating party: the Dutch factor followed him with his *prahu*, whereon the King sent one of his gentlemen to him with a "boisette" of food, saying that He sent it to them as they were the only nation that followed them so faithfully. Mr. Luycas had gone out in a *prahu*, sent by Okya Praklang, but had not followed the King.

The letter of the King of Portugal quoted above gives us an insight into the Portuguese policy to uphold their domination in the East against the growing power of the Dutch. The Portuguese having lost their position in Syriam attempted to obtain a foothold on the Peninsula and their objective was Martaban, called by the King Martavan. The plan was to fortify this place to prevent the adjacent territory being occupied by the Dutch. The policy laid down by the King in his letter to his Viceroy at Goa was the subject matter of long and protracted negotiations with Siam. The material at my disposal does not tell us what happened between 1607 and 1618

beyond the fact that the King of Portugal, in a letter dated 17th January 1618 to his Viceroy in Goa, mentions that the Kings of Siam and Ava had sent embassies to Goa in 1617. Siam offered Martaban and Ava offered Arracan to the Portuguese. The King suggested that a policy of dissimulation and prudence should be followed in these matters as Martaban did not belong to Siam and Arracan did not belong to Ava. The Viceroy replied to the King on the 8th February 1619. This letter tells us that the King of Siam had despatched an ambassador to Goa in 1618 and requested the Viceroy to send the embassy to Portugal in connection with the negotiations regarding Martaban and other matters. This embassy did not get beyond Goa owing to sickness amongst its members. The letter is of historical importance so I quote it in full. H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, in his work entitled *Wars between Siam and Burma*, page 193, says that the object of the mission to Goa was to request the Portuguese to patrol the Siamese seaboard on the Bay of Bengal in order to prevent the Burmese attacking this territory. In return for this the Siamese would allow the Portuguese to fortify Martaban. Martaban was now of importance to the Portuguese on account of the Dutch military threat against Malacca, which place they wrested from the Portuguese in 1641. It is clear from the letter of the Viceroy that the negotiations were eventually carried on in Ayudhya. Prince Damrong states that Portugal required (1) a military alliance between Portugal and Siam for the purpose of waging war on Ava; (2) that the nationals of both countries should have the right of trade in each other's territories free of all taxes and duties; (3) that Siam should expel the Dutch from Siamese territory. Siam was prepared to agree to the first two clauses but refused the third, stating that the Dutch had always been good friends of Siam and therefore there was no reason for expelling them. The negotiations failed.

I insert here the letter of the Viceroy at Goa to the King of Portugal referred to above:

The Viceroy of Goa to the King of Portugal.

Dated Goa, 8th February, 1619 (N. S.)

29th January, 1619 (O. S.)

The Ambassadors sent last year by this King of Siam for them to pass on to the Kingdom to your Majesty in company of Frei Francisco da Annunciação, of the Order of Preachers, I sent back to their lands, as by other letters

I give an account to your Majesty, because they were unable to effect their Embassage through the absence of Christovan Rebello, who had started with them with the same object of proceeding to the Kingdom, but who did not arrive. And for this reason was the letter and present which they had brought from their King sent on by the leading ship, as by the *Via* (sic) which she took and advised Your Majesty: And because subsequently those Ambassadors sickened in this city, and pleaded with great instance that I should allow them to leave, and it was the opinion of the Council of State where this matter was discussed, that I ought to accede to this also, on account of obviating the expense which would result should they have to remain here until a reply should arrive from your Majesty, as because this King might take umbrage at keeping them here without sending them to Portugal, I sent them in a galliot under the care of Joao da Silva. . . . and by him I wrote to the said King stating the reasons why these Ambassadors of his had been unable to proceed on to the Kingdom, and that I had forwarded on to Your Majesty his letter and present, and what reply I should receive I would send on by the said Father Frei Francisco da Annunciaçao, and which I fully expected would be very much to the spirit in which he had written that letter, and as from the Royal grandeur of Your Majesty might be expected; and that meanwhile, pending the arrival of this reply, that the said King should continue in friendship with the State, being (a?) friend to friends, and an enemy to enemies, enjoining his vessels to continue plying trade with Malacca and other ports of the State, as was done formerly; and whereas it has been understood in Council of State that the Peace besought by this King has conditions which are not of very great importance for many reasons which are of consideration for the service of Your Majesty, and in particular for his urgent justification on his part in regard to the loss of the fleet of Dom Francisco de Menezes, which was dispatched there by the last Viceroy, I had a Father of the Society of Jesus, called Andre Pereira, the eldest of all those residing in those parts, and Constantion Falcan, visitor of the Bishopric of Meliapor there, and Gaspar Pacheco de Mequita, a married man, resident of Cochin, who was there at the moment, being a person of talent, experience, services, and rank, that they should all together discuss this peace treaty with the King, for me to conclude with such conditions as should be more advantageous and of greater credit and repute for the State, and for this object the King to send me his Ambassadors for me to witness their oath, and to Gaspar Pacheco I wrote that he should likewise insist on the ward being opened in the large port, as it formerly was. In order (in) like manner to release from captivity many Christians who were there, and attain other good effects for the service of Your Majesty, and so that the said Gaspar Pacheco should endeavour with greater efficacy to have the said ward opened, I passed, as Captain in Chief of it, a provision on to him with

the same powers and jurisdictions as former Captains in Chief had enjoyed, because so it was agreed upon by the same Council. To this letter I have had as yet no reply, and what on the matter should be done I will advise Your Majesty by the first occasion.

One has always understood that Burma had been rendered impotent by the wars with King Naresuan. Apparently this was not the case, for we learn from a letter of Mr. John Gourney, dated 28th July 1614. to the (English) East India Company, that the two countries were at war in that year. All communication with Chiengmai and Lanchang was blocked by the hostilities, and trade ceased. On the 23rd February 1618 Mr. William Wilson at Jakatra wrote to Mr. Edward Longe at Bantam saying that he had learnt for certain that about three months ago a treaty of peace had been signed between Siam and Ava under which Chiengmai and many other places were ceded to Siam. This treaty of peace must have been concluded at the end of 1617, Prince Damrong tells us that Martaban was one of the places given to Siam. If this is true the King of Portugal could not have been aware of it when he wrote to his Viceroy at Goa on the 17th January 1618 advising dissimulation and prudence in the negotiations as Martaban did not belong to Siam. When the negotiations were continued at Ayudhya in 1618, Martaban was probably Siamese territory.

During the reign of his son, Sri Saowaphak, which was a short one (A. D. 1620) we have no evidence of either political or commercial activities, but it is reasonable to assume that trade continued on normal lines. We learn from a letter written by Jan van Hasell at Singora to Jan P. Coen in Jacatra, Java, dated 4th October 1620, that the English were taking steps to negotiate a new commercial treaty with this King, and that the Dutch did all in their power to frustrate this design. Nothing however was accomplished as the King was executed at the end of 1620.

(2) IN THE SONG THAM PERIOD, A. D. 1620—1628.

In the reign of King Song Tham, there was great political and commercial activity between Siam and Japan. This King did not believe in the use of force for the settlement of international disputes, and therefore continued the policy of his father, Ekathosrot, which aimed at cementing friendly relations with all his neighbours.

The King was compelled against his will to engage in war against Cambodia, which had rebelled against his authority (A. D. 1622-1628).

King Song Tham, when writing to the Shogun in A. D. 1623, informed His Highness of this event, and again in A. D. 1626 wrote to Japan saying that the rebellion had not been quelled. The Japanese Government, understanding the religious nature of the King and his abhorrence of shedding blood, administered a rebuke. In a reply to a letter from the Chief Minister of Siam to Doi Toshikazu and Sakai Tadayo, which has been lost, the first dignitary replied, saying The waging of war entails the taking of life, and all its accompanying horrors. Every means should be employed to avoid war, but peace is not to be attained by neglecting to take up arms. (*vide*. Correspondence, A. D. 1626). The King's outlook on war reminds one of the Provisions of the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

The foundations laid down by King Ekathosrot on which the friendship with Japan was built were strengthened by King Song Tham during his reign. He picked up the thread of friendly relationship immediately after his accession to the throne, for we find that he sent an embassy to Japan in 1621. Others were sent in 1623 and 1626, and there was much diplomatic correspondence between the two countries. As this diplomatic correspondence speaks of matters of great importance, and is evidence of the extraordinary height to which friendly relations had ascended, I propose to give the substance of these letters in some detail, and in some cases a full translation of the letters. There is a record existing to show that seven letters passed between the King of Siam and the Shogun of Japan including letters between their Ministers in the 1621. These letters are couched in the most friendly language, showing that the political relations were based on a perfect understanding. The following are the letters.

(1) *Letter from the King of Siam to the Shogun of Japan conveyed by the two Siamese ambassadors, Khun Phichit Sombat (ขุนพิชิตสมบัติ) and Khun Prasert (ขุนประเสริฐ).*

This letter is so interesting that I give its contents in full. The King said :

It is a duty of Kings from ancient times to govern their countries on the principle of justice and benevolence, and foster friendly relations with neighbouring states. By upholding this principle the citizens of neighbouring states live in happiness, and the people of other countries come to enjoy equal happiness in our country.

Siam and Japan enjoying a state of equal prestige, it is our firm desire that our two countries should continue to live on friendly terms in the future as in the past. Our two countries are distant one from the other and separated by the sea, which is an obstacle to easy communication. The people of our countries follow the religion of the Buddha, and our habits and customs are similar, with the exception that we are not conversant with the tenets of Mahayanism, which you must understand. We, therefore, will be honoured by your kindly sending us an explanation of its principles.

Trading vessels from Japan have been coming to Ayudhya frequently for many years, and We have always granted the Japanese traders such facilities, that it may be said that We have favoured them more than our own subjects. We have instructed our officials to look after the interests of the Japanese that they may trade freely, and have appointed an officer holding the title of Khun Chai Sunthon (ขุนไชยสุนทน์) to watch over their affairs, not only the affairs of new arrivals, but also of those who have been domiciled in our kingdom for many years in order that they may all enjoy equal opportunities in trade. We have adopted this policy in the hope that it will draw an ever-increasing number of Japanese to trade in our country. In order that Your Highness may understand fully our desires in these matters, we have deputed Khun Phichit Sombat and Khun Prasert to be our ambassadors to present this letter and gifts to Your Highness as a memento of our friendly sentiments and of our best wishes.

Should Your Highness be animated by a wish for the continuance of friendly relations between our two countries, then let no hindrance or obstacle arise that may break off our communications in the future. If We both hold feelings of true friendship, then the people of our two countries will enjoy the blessings of peace and happiness.

Siam is not a rich country, but notwithstanding this, should Your Highness give voice to any desire, We, your true friend, will endeavour to fulfil it. Moreover, the fact that We both follow and practise the religion of the Buddha should be an important bond in cementing and furthering our friendship in a higher degree for all times. The administration of both our countries, being so excellent, gives great satisfaction to those foreigners who enjoy our protection, and should be a model for other states to emulate.

We fervently hope that, when our ambassadors have presented the feelings of friendship which actuate us, and have fulfilled their mission, Your Highness will arrange for their return that they may convey your messages to us speedily.

(2) *The Shogun replied to the King of Siam in October 1621.*

The letter is quite personal in character. The Shogun said :

Having read Your Majesty's letter and having conversed with the two ambassadors, I feel that without having to move a single inch I have become fully acquainted with all matters pertaining to yourself and Siam.

He then spoke of the systems of religion practised in Japan, and informed the King that quite apart from religious creeds, Japan had advanced along the road of culture, was efficient in the science of war as had been noted by the ambassadors. The Shogun noted the King's wish to be in yearly correspondence with him, and on his part held a strong desire that the two countries should live in friendly relationship. The Shogun acknowledged receipt of the gifts sent by the King, and sent presents in return.

(3) *Letter from Okphra Chula, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, written under instructions of Okya Sri Thamarat, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Governor of Nagasaki.*

Okphra Chula said that the Minister for Foreign Affairs had received the royal command to express the King's fervent wish for the promotion of friendly political relations with Japan in order that the trade between the two countries might increase and flourish. In furtherance of this object the King had appointed Khun Phichit Sombat and Khun Prasert to be his envoys. Okphra Chula went on to request the Governor to receive the envoys, to give them such help as they might require, and to arrange for their journey to the Capital that they might be received in audience by the Shogun in order to present a personal letter from the King. In this letter was mentioned the fact that the renown of Japanese horses had reached Siam, and that the King wished to possess some of these animals. Okphra Chula, therefore, asked the Governor to procure and send some to Siam with the embassy when it returned. This act of kindness would ever remain fresh in his mind.

The King sent as gifts for the Governor of Nagasaki ten piculs of tin, and one picul of ivory. At the same time he sent for presentation to the Shogun one long sword, one short sword, two fowling muskets, ten rolls of foreign cloth, one gold salver, one ink grinding stone, and ten piculs of ivory.

(4) *Letter from Okga Sri Thamarat, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Honda Masasumi, Minister of State.*

This letter is couched in the same language as that written by Okphra Chula. It expressed the strong desire of the King to cement friendly relations with Japan that trade might flourish. A request

was made for horses to be sent to Siam. The Siamese Foreign Minister gave a present of two rolls of foreign cloth on his own account to this Japanese Minister, and ten rolls of foreign cloth as the personal gift from the King. This letter mentioned the presents sent by the King to the Shogun.

(5) *The Council of Minister in Japan replied to Okya Sri Thamarat* saying that they were glad to have had the opportunity of meeting the ambassadors entrusted with the duty of furthering friendly relations between the two countries, and had not only placed all matters before their master, the Shogun, but had also introduced Khun Phichit Sombat and Khun Prasert to His Highness. The envoys had at this audience presented the royal gifts. The Shogun had expressed the liveliest satisfaction and pleasure on hearing the royal messages, and had given them a letter for presentation to the King. His Highness was pleased to accede to the royal request that Japanese horses be sent to Siam, and had given several to the ambassadors. This request of the King was the more pleasing to the Shogun as the Japanese, being soldiers, required and bred good war horses. The Council of Ministers begged Okya Phra Khlang to submit their humble thanks to the King for the royal presents sent them, and also thanked the Minister for his personal gifts.

The Council of Ministers sent for the King one horse, and for Okya Phra Khlang one Japanese sword. The presents for the King from the Shogun were three Japanese screens made of gold paper, and three horses fully equipped with saddles and bridles.

(6) *Letter from Yamada Nagamaza to Doi Toshikazu dated 13th May 1621.*

This letter was written for the purpose of obtaining the assistance of Doi Toshikazu to arrange for the Siamese ambassadors to have an audience with the Shogun.

Yamada sent two shark skins and two hundred catties weight of gun powder as a personal present.

(7) *Letter from Honda Kosukenosuke and Doi Toshikazu to Yamada dated October 1621.*

This letter informed Yamada that the Siamese embassy had arrived safely in Japan, and that his letter with the present of two shark skins and two hundred catties weight of gun powder together with the letter from H. M. the King of Siam had been received. The letter then went on to say that the envoys had been received in audience

by the Shogun and had presented the royal gifts, and that the Shogun had delivered to them a personal letter for presentation to the King, and felt sure that the envoys and the Japanese interpreter would make a full report on their return. These dignitaries sent twenty rolls of white cloth to Yamada in lieu of any specific message for himself.

The Siamese ambassadors arrived at Yedo on the 11th October 1621, and were lodged in a temple at Sia Kwan Chi. This embassy was composed of some sixty to seventy persons excluding two Japanese, one the interpreter, the other a merchant from Sakai. Of the Siamese employed on this mission, eighteen enjoyed the special right of private audience with their King. The envoys were received in audience by the Shogun on the 13th October at which ceremony the royal rescript and a list of the gifts were presented. The Shogun, having read the letter and examined the list of presents, commanded the envoys to attend a second audience on the 15th when the royal gifts should be presented. The King's letter in Siamese characters was inscribed on a sheet of gold 6 x 18 inches, and was accompanied by a translation in Chinese written on white paper. These documents were put in an ivory tube or cylinder which was encased in a box having the shape of a boat. This box was wrapped in many folds of cloth and sealed. The Shogun at this audience was robed in a long garment with pale green epaulettes. He sat on an embroidered carpet on a dais, his body being hidden by a silk screen so arranged that his face only was visible. The King's letter was placed on a mat to the right of the Shogun. Two of the Siamese envoys, together with their interpreter, were admitted to the audience hall, sitting on the floor towards its end some distance from the Shogun. The third envoy sat outside the hall. The King's letter was presented by Sakai Utanokami Fujiwara Tatado to the Shogun, who, afterwards speaking a few words to the envoys, retired. The Siamese ambassadors were received at a farewell audience on the 17th October and returned to Siam.

King Song Tham evidently recognised the value of friendship with Japan, for in A. D. 1623 another embassy was despatched to that country. In this year seven official letters passed between the two countries. The King himself wrote a personal letter to the Shogun from which it would appear that the Shogun had written to the King

in the previous year, but apart from the reference to this in the King's letter, no record would seem to exist.

This letter and the reply of the Shogun are of so intimate a character and so interesting that I give a full translation.

(1) *The King of Siam to the Shogun of Japan.*

Last year We received your charming letter, and from its contents We feel convinced of the sincerity of your wish that our friendly relations may continue. We are sure that Your Highness is the embodiment of the highest principles of justice and honour, that your Ministers are wise, that your country enjoys peace, that your people are happy, that the religion of the Buddha flourishes, and that all traditions and customs are upheld. This affords Us great pleasure.

The fact that the sea separates Siam from Japan has hitherto rendered communication difficult, but now Our trading vessels come and go from one country to the other, which enables the bonds of friendship to be linked together. Now it is abundantly clear that Your Highness has a sincere affection for Us, which is even stronger than that of close relations.

Last year We had the intention of sending a letter to enquire about the health of Your Highness, but a serious obstacle arose. King Sri Suphanarat of Cambodia, whom We have placed on the throne, and has always been a loyal vassal of Ours, has just died. His son, Prince Chetha, the Heir-Apparent, has not acted in accordance with the commands of his father, which enjoined him to be faithful to Us, for he has ascended the throne of his own will without Our authority. In thus doing he has treated Us with disdain, has not presented the customary tribute and does not obey the orders of Ayudhya. Our Council of Ministers, after consultation, sent a special mission to admonish the young Prince and require him to return to his allegiance, but he refused to listen to Our advice and rose in rebellion against Us. This is the cause why We were obliged to hold in abeyance the despatch of a letter to Your Highness.

Now Ayudhya is organising an army which will proceed by land and water to crush this rebellion in Cambodia. Japanese nationals are in the habit of visiting Cambodia, and should it happen during the fighting between Siam and Cambodia that any Japanese siding with Cambodia be killed, this may lead to an estrangement between us. For this reason, We ask Your Highness to prohibit Japanese going to Cambodia, because we are united by such strong bonds of friendship like unto the bones and flesh of the human body, which are so knitted together as to be inseparable. The interests of our two countries are identical, and we are joined together in our joys and sorrows. Please do not allow anything to arise, which might interrupt or disturb our present relationship, and it is Our sincere hope that we may communicate one with the other every year without interruption. Should Your

Highness desire anything which We can procure for You, only give expression to your wish and it shall be fulfilled so that our friendship may ever be increased. We have appointed Luang Thong Samut (หลวงทองสมุทร) and Khun Swat (ขุนสวัสดิ์) to be Our ambassadors, and have entrusted them with Our letter inscribed on a tablet of gold together with a translation in Chinese, and also gifts for Your Highness.

The presents sent were more numerous than usual. The following is a list: A hat made of fine woven bark; four catties weight of scented wood; two catties weight of camphor; one roll of five coloured striped gold cloth; one roll of five coloured striped silver cloth; one roll of five coloured striped yellow cloth; one roll of three coloured striped silver cloth; ten rolls of white netting; ten rolls of foreign cloth; two fowling pieces with gold damascened barrels; ten catties weight of white feathers.

(2) *The Shogun Minamoto Hidetada replied to this letter in September 1623.* The letter is brief, and as it is a reply to the points raised by the King, I propose to summarize its contents.

The Shogun said that he was gratified to learn of the King's wishes for the continuance and development of friendly relations between their countries. As regards the attitude of the Japanese in the Cambodian rebellion, he assured the King that there was no cause for anxiety. If Japanese nationals took sides in the disputes they should be punished according to their offence, for the Japanese, being traders, should not concern themselves with politics. The Shogun promised to do all in his power to increase the commerce between Japan and Siam. The Shogun then went on to say that he had sent personal messages by the ambassadors. In conclusion, the Shogun prayed for the health and happiness of the King, and also sent a few gifts. The following is a list: two throwing lances; thirty coats; two horses with saddles and bridles.

(3) *Letter from Okya Phra Khlang to Sakai Utanokami Fujiwara Tadayo, A. D. 1623.*

This letter is complimentary in tenor. The Foreign Minister said he regretted that he was prevented from sending a letter during the previous year, but as His Majesty had commanded that an embassy be despatched to Japan to convey a letter to the Shogun, he would ask that the Japanese Minister would arrange for a proper reception to be accorded, and that the ambassadors be presented to the Shogun.

The Foreign Minister sent three piculs of ivory, four rolls of white cloth, and eight rolls of white netting.

(4) *Letter from Sakai Utanokami Fujiwara Tadayo to Okya Phra Khlang, dated 27th September 1623.*

As this letter is of some importance I give a full translation as follows :

I have received and read your letter several times, and have placed it before the Council of Ministers for consideration, and have also reported to the Shogun that Luang Thong Samut and Khun Swat have been sent as ambassadors by your King, and have brought with them a royal letter and presents for the Shogun. When the ambassadors arrived, the Shogun was not in residence at Yedo ; he had gone to Kyoto. I, therefore, had the honour of introducing the ambassadors to the Shogun at that city, on which occasion they presented the King's letter with the royal gifts. The Shogun handed a reply to the ambassadors, and the presents for the new Shogun have been delivered. The Shogun has sent as a present a horse of the best breed, together with a saddle and bridle for the King. Kindly inform His Majesty.

I cannot find words good enough in which to express my thanks to you for the kind gifts you have sent to me. The bonds of friendship between our two countries are unbreakable, and because we both hold the same sentiments of loyalty, the fact that our countries are separated by the sea is of no importance. I, on my part, beg to send your Royal Master a horse, which I hope you will present to His Majesty for me. As both the Shoguns are about to return to Yedo, my time has been occupied so fully in arranging for the audience, that I am unable to write a full letter to you, but feel sure that the ambassadors will make a full report of what has taken place here. May you enjoy happiness and prosperity.

It will be noticed that this letter makes reference to two Shoguns and speaks of the new one. The Shogun, who replied to the King, was Minomoto Hidetada. Now we know that Hidetada abdicated in favour of his son, Iemitsu, in this very year A. D. 1623. The new Shogun was, of course, the son, but according to Japanese custom, the Shogun who abdicated always held a controlling hand over important affairs of State. Iemitsu did not take full charge of the Government till A. D. 1632, when his father died.

(5) *Letter from Okya Phra Khlang to Doi Toshikazu.*

This letter is couched in the same terms as the Foreign Minister's letter to Sakai Utanogami.

(6) *Letter from Doi Toshikazu to Okya Phra Khlang, dated 27th September 1623.*

In this letter the writer says that he has informed the Shogun of the arrival of the two ambassadors from Siam, and took the opportunity of telling His Highness that when the Siamese envoys who had visited Japan two years ago (1621) returned to their country they had duly presented the Shogun's letter to the King, and informed His Majesty of the happy state of affairs prevailing in Japan at the time. The rest of the letter is similar in tenor to that of Sakai Utanokami. A pedigree horse was sent by this dignitary for the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

(7) *Letter from Itakura Suonokami Minamoto no Ason Shigemune to Okya Phra Khlang, dated 15th October 1623.*

This letter acknowledges receipt of a letter from Okya Phra Khlang together with a present of a pair of elephant's tusks, and four rolls of foreign cloth. The letter itself conveys to Okya Phra Khlang the same information as is given in the letters from other Japanese Ministers.

The letter from Okya Phra Khlang is not found in this series.

King Song Tham continued to keep in close contact with the Shogun of Japan. In 1626 several diplomatic letters passed between the two countries, but I cannot find that any personal letter was sent by the King of Siam or the Shogun as in previous years. This may be due to the letters having been lost or mislaid in the Department of Archives in Japan. There were four official letters, two from Siam and two from Japan. There was also a fifth letter but this seems to be of a private nature, and was addressed by one Makino Nobunari to Okya Phra Khlang, the Foreign Minister, in September 1625 (Chalu, the year of the Ox which synchronises with the year 987 of the Little Era). This letter says that the writer is taking advantage of the departure of a ship to convey to Okya Phra Khlang his pleasure at knowing that he is in good health, and asks the Minister to use his influence with the King to advance the interest of the writer. The captain of the ship is a friend of the writer, who trusts that the Minister will do all he can to help his friend to dispose of the cargo quickly, and to the best advantage of both countries. The writer then goes on to say that if the Minister expresses a wish for anything, he will be glad to send it, and takes advantage of the present opportunity to send the Minister a suit of armour.

The first of the official letters is one from Okya Phra Khlang, the Foreign Minister, to Sakai Tadayo, and this letter is dated the

fifteenth day of the waning of the fourth month in the year of the Tiger, 987 of the Little Era (*circa* March 1626). Okya Phra Khlang says :

It has been brought to my notice that the administration of your country is firm like unto the stone walls of the city, and therefore the people enjoy happiness and prosperity. It is a matter of pleasure to my Royal Master that the renown of your government should have spread throughout all lands. I am commanded by His Majesty the King to say that though there are many countries in this world under the same sky inhabited by different races and separated by water, still if we give profound consideration to the matter, it will be seen that Siam and Japan are among the important states.

In ancient times although there was little communication by water between our countries, still the high renown and honour of Your Excellency was known to me, and the people of other countries must have been aware of the greatness and superiority of your land over theirs much as the sky is above the earth. At the present time although we are distant one from the other, still the existing means of communications has led to a state of great friendship, which is a matter for congratulations, but it is a matter for regret that as we are separated by a vast expanse of water, Siam is unable to enjoy that prosperity which is yours. Although traders voyage between our countries without hindrance, I have no better means of hearing about Your Excellency than the reports brought to me by your envoys, who inform me that your country enjoys peace. If, for this reason, other countries are envious of our fortunate circumstances, it need cause us no anxiety.

In the year of the Pig, 985 of the Little Era (A.D. 1623), my Royal Master sent an embassy with a letter and a few presents of little value to His Highness the Shogun as a token of respect, and to enquire after his health and happiness. He, in his turn, sent a gracious letter with many handsome gifts. It gave me great pleasure to learn that your country was well governed, and that you have shown such a gracious manner to the envoys; but not only this, it gave me greater pleasure to know of your expressed wish for the continuance of friendly relations between our countries. I have heard of these matters from the envoys, but to me it is not the same as if we had conversed together.

It is owing to the kind thoughts of the Shogun that our people are happy and enjoy the fruits of a bountiful harvest, but the state of rebellion in Cambodia still continues. My Royal Master is sending reinforcements to quell the revolt. The King has appointed Khun Raksa Sithiphol (ขุนรักษาสีทิพล), and acting Wat Nong At (วัจนองอาจ), an interpreter, to be his ambassador to convey his Royal Letter to the Shogun, being assured that His Highness the Shogun regards Siam as his own, and thereby our state of friendship will

continue for ever. His Majesty also hopes that envoys may continue to exchange visits from time to time. Should Your Excellency desire anything which I can send you, please let me know and I shall send it forthwith. I feel sure that should Siamese traders visit your country, you will see that they are allowed to carry on their business without let or hindrance, so that they may be able to return to their native land quickly. I trust that my wish in this matter may bear fruit. Three years ago a Siamese trader, Luang Chaiyasarn (หลวงไชยสารร์), who is now Phya Khun Raksa Montri (พระยาคุณรักษามันตรี), sent a ship to trade in Japan. This vessel has not returned and as I am unaware of the reason, I therefore beg your good offices to ascertain the cause, and to arrange that the ship returns at once. Your compliance with this request will give me great pleasure. My Master, the King, is much attracted by the breed of horses in your country, and in the last two or three years has sent to buy some of these animals but without success. I, therefore, must trouble you to arrange that the envoys may be able to purchase some. His Majesty the King has held a desire to possess some of these horses for several years. I, therefore, hope that Your Excellency will be able to satisfy this desire. Allow me to say that I appreciate highly your devoted loyalty to your country, and the effort made by you to further and cement the bonds of friendship between our countries, and I should appreciate that a reply be sent by the hands of envoys, and that they may return as soon as possible. I beg you to accept from me as a token of respect four rolls of flowered cloth, and four rolls of white netting.

(2) *Letter from Sakai Tadayo to Okya Phra Khlung, written on the 10th waxing of the year of the Tiger (A. D. 1626).*

I have read your delightful letter and have received the four rolls of flowered cloth, and the four rolls of white netting.

It is a matter of gratification to me to learn that you have received my previous letter. As regards the Siamese traders in Japan I am arranging that they shall return without hindrance. The truth is I had already once tried to send them back, but they could not leave, because they had not sold the whole of the cargo. I will see that they go now.

I learn that your country is engaged in suppressing a revolt on the frontier. As the rebels are not strong, it is probable that they will be unable to resist a superior force. I, therefore, feel sure that you will be able to crush the rebels before long.

As regards the horses you ask for, I will procure and send them. However, your envoys have already bought some. Besides the horses the envoys are taking, I desire to present to the King a horse of good breed. Kindly inform His Majesty.

In the matter of our countries being faithful one to the other, and of commercial intercourse, if these two conditions can be developed and in-

creased to their fullest extent, it will be a most excellent thing, about which I need not say much as you yourself must be aware of its desirability.

(3) *A letter was sent by the Chief Minister of State in Siam to Doi Toshikazu and Sakai Tadayo, but its contents are unknown as the letter cannot be found.*

(4) *One of the two Japanese Ministers addressed in letter No. 3, namely, Doi Toshikazu, replied in the 10th month (probably October) in the year of the Tiger (A. D. 1626), saying:*

The Siamese ambassadors have arrived in Japan by a sailing vessel, and they have given me your letter with the two presents which I accept. I thank Your Excellency. It gives me pleasure to learn that you received my letter sent two or three years ago. I understand that Siam desires to quell the rebellion on the frontier. The waging of war entails the taking of life, and all its accompanying horrors. Every means should be employed to avoid war, but peace is not to be attained by neglecting to take up arms.

Japan is enjoying a state of profound peace, and good law and order are upheld, which condition has been observed by the Siamese ambassadors, who will undoubtedly inform you of this. I feel sure that no cause or incident can arise which would lead to the existing state of friendship between our countries being lessened or weakened. In the case of the Siamese traders who have stayed in Japan for several years without returning to Siam, it is not due to any act on the part of the Japanese authorities, but simply owing to the traders not having sold the whole of their cargoes. I have told them to return immediately.

Regarding the desire of the King to obtain some more horses, as those already sent were not fleet of foot, I have no objection, and the ambassadors are free to buy at any time. I send a fleet horse for His Majesty the King, and beg you to present it on my behalf to His Majesty. As regards other matters you will learn of them from a letter which I will send latter.

In Part XX of *A Collection of Historical Data* (ประชุมพงศาวดาร ภาคที่ ๒๐) the year given in these three letters is A. D. 1625. This is obviously wrong, and whether due to a miscalculation or other reasons I am not in a position to say. The year 987 of the Little Era commenced on the 14th waxing of the fifth month), about 11th April 1625); therefore, the fourth month would be eleven months later, and would fall in the year A. D. 1626 about the end of March. The year of the Tiger is mentioned. This is further evidence that the year was A. D. 1626, for the zodiacal year changes a few days before the year of the Little Era. The letter from Makino Nobunari was written in the year of the Ox (Chalu) L. E. 987. Now the year of

the Ox precedes the year of the Tiger. Therefore, this official correspondence must have taken place in A. D. 1626. I have come across a Report of a Dutch ambassador to Japan published as a supplement to a work entitled *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam* by Francis Caron and Joost Schouten, and translated by Roger Manley, who received permission from the British Government to print his translation in 1662. The copy from which I quote was published in London in 1671. The Dutch ambassador, Coenraed Krammer, tells us that he was in Yedo on the 28th October 1626, when he witnessed a grand ceremonial procession, (of which he gives the most interesting details) which accompanied the Emperor, the Empress and his other consorts on a State visit to the Shoguns. The procession was composed of the high dignitaries of the Court, noblemen, military officers and courtiers. The scene must have been truly wonderful. Mr. Coenraed Krammer tells us that there were two Shoguns, the old and the young. He mentions the fact that when he was in Yedo, embassies of "Siammers and Portugals" were waiting to be received in audience by the Shoguns, as their reception had been postponed till the State visit of the Emperor was over. He records that the Shogun granted him audience before the arrival of the Emperor, as the Shogun desired to dispose of the business of the Dutch envoy quickly.

This report is additional proof that a Siamese mission was sent to Japan in 1626, not 1625. The Siamese ambassador was Khun Raksa Sithipol. The two Shoguns were Hidetada and Iemitsu. Hidetada was the third son of Ieyasu, the first Shogun of the Tokugawa Dynasty. Ieyasu was Shogun from 1603 to 1605 when he abdicated in favour of his son, Hidetada; but retained a controlling hand over the affairs of State till his death on the 8th March 1616. Hidetada ruled till 1623, when he abdicated in favour of his son, Iemitsu, but still continued to take an interest in the affairs of the Government. Hidetada died in 1632.

In the days of which we are speaking, I think that it was customary for the foreign countries enjoying trading relations with Siam to renew the treaties on the accession of each king. King Ekathosrot had trading agreements with the foreign countries which had influence in the East. On his death, the English and the Dutch were attempting to prevent each other from obtaining trading privileges from the new King, Sri Saowaphak, but nothing happened as he was executed.

In the reign of King Song Tham it is clear from the correspondence given above that he entered into a new trading arrangement with Japan. In the *Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries*, there are documents to show that after his accession, but before his coronation, he had negotiated a treaty of friendship and commerce with King James of England, whom he called his brother in accord with interroyal custom. We learn of this from a speech made by Okya Phra Khlang, the Chief Minister, on behalf of the King at the time of His Majesty's coronation, which act in the speech is translated as his "appointment." The English translation may have been made direct from the Siamese or from a Portuguese translation of the Siamese. It seems that Portuguese was the diplomatic language used at that time, for I find in another document Mr. Edward Long, the English trading representative of the East India Company, spoken of as Señor Duarte Longo. The speech of King Song Tham is interesting and of value to the historian, so I print it in full. Confirmation of van Vliet's statement about the destruction of the Siamese army in Cambodia, mentioned in Part four, will be found in the King's speech. This speech was probably made in 1622, for evidence goes to show that the Siamese forces were annihilated in that year. The King and Okya Phra Khlang both sent valuable presents to Mr. Richard Fursland, "the President of the English Nation" at Jacatra, with a copy of this speech:

The Speech of the King of Siam, and at his appointment, written by CHAWPEEA OYBARKALONG or Vice King Seree Darmaratt Dee Chawchat amat yay nocheet Peepitt rat narat Coosatebe dee rphrapenu baka Crum bawhoo. (Undated,? 1622).

I, Prebat Sumdet Borum bopitt prabuddha chau yu hua, have given orders to Oybarkalong, one of my principal and chiefest Servants, to write from my own mouth the assured confidence I have of the league and unity agreed of and concluded between that great and famous King of England, my Brother, and myself. And for that His Majesty, by his Ambassador, and in his letter sent unto me, did require that I would give leave unto his people to settle in my country and suffer them to perform their affairs under my protection, as my own subjects, and whatsoever I should do for them in this kind he promised for the joining of peace and friendship between princes, that if I or my people should desire it, he would do the like. On the which promise I do build an immoveable constancy and settled assurance, for which, and other most worthy reports that have been told me of his highness by many strangers I do so truly and entirely affect His Majesty and his people

as if he were myself, and his mine. Now since I have heard that my Brother the King of England has caused a principal and Governor to settle at Jaccatra, for the more commodious and speedier understanding how business may proceed from England, as also here in this and other parts, and likewise to govern and oversee that His Majesty's people do demean themselves well, and to right their injuries if any be offered. These things being known unto me, rejoices me very much, and entices me (by my chief servant, Oybarkalonge) to write unto you Richard Fursland, whom I take as general commander of His Majesty's people in these parts, and account you as one of his great men having such authority committed unto you, entreating you withal, that being I take (as it were) the subjects of my brother the King of England to be mine, and mine likewise his; and for that there is a loving friendship between his master and me, so you will be now a mediator, being so near and England so far off, to maintain love and friendship between our great men (or mandarins) that all things may give good correspondence to either part. I have forborne a long time to write expecting answer to my letter from His Majesty, or some news of his good health from you, but hearing not of any, have now sent my own people with this letter and small token of remembrance unto you, earnestly requesting that if my letter or news come unto you of His Majesty's welfare, that I may be a partaker thereof, for I long to hear how he does and whether he lives in peace and free from rebellious subjects.

If you shall at any time want such things as may be procured within my kingdom, let me know of it, or wherein I may pleasure His Majesty or his people, and you shall well find me ready to perform according to your desires (expecting and nothing doubting the like love from him and his people). I further thought fit (you being chief and Governor of His Majesty's people in these parts) to acquaint you with some wrongs that have been offered unto me, and the rather lest by your not knowing thereof, some prejudice may unwittingly happen unto me.

Whereas my late deceased Grandfather, upon some difference waged war with the King of Cambodia, then being and having got the Victory, by taking the king prisoner and subdueing his people, yet in a while after seeing the humility of the said King to be much, restored his kingdom to him again, provided that he and his successors should acknowledge the King of Siam and his heirs for their lord and master, and for that purpose appointed them to pay yearly a small tribute of remembrance. All which the King of Cambodia and his Successors duly observed with all love and humility. And the Father of this King being at the point of death, called his son unto him, warning him, as he had lived peaceably and quietly under his lord and master the King of Siam, so that he now, after his decease, should likewise go and acknowledge himself obedient unto the Crown of Siam and perform those

duties which his father had formerly done, and then all would go well with him. This his Son promised to follow his father's admonition, but as soon as his father was deceased, he did not only take upon him the Crown and government of the kingdom without my consent, but left off to pay his acknowledgement, which by his father he was strictly charged to perform and bound per duty to observe. Whereupon I called my Mandarins unto me, laying before them his obstinacy and required their opinions, who answered me that the King of Cambodia his proceeding was against all reason. I therefore held it fitting to send unto him, both per sea and land, for this purpose that all things might be settled as formerly and with love. Also I sent one of my great Tallapoies, promising by my faith unto him, that if he would submit himself, to place him in my high favour and forget all injuries, but he, seeing my force on either side, deferred my Mandarins with promises that he would be conformable, until such time as the monsoons were spent and his people fortified, which having cunningly brought to pass, knowing my sea Army of necessity forced to return, detained my Tallapoy and fell upon my people by land, slaying the most of them and keeping the rest prisoners.

Thus I have declared the injuries offered unto me, by my servant Cambodia, and for those abuses that you will not suffer any of your people to trade there, but take so many of them as you can until such time as it be quieted. And if it be my fortune to take it, (as I doubt not), you shall not have only trade there, but as before I have said, in all my dominions, to your full content, and as I hold the King of England my brother, counting his people mine and mine his, so whosoever does injury to the one does wrong to the other, and thus I request you to have a regard unto my letter and the speeches of my people, and to return them so speedily as you may with such news as you shall think fit to impart unto me.

A present from the King of Siam unto the President of the English nation at Jaccatra.

				Catt tale m:	
one Bullset of gold poiz	...	...	...	19.	10
one Skife of gold poiz	...	...	...	4.	-
two turrett Cupps of gold poiz	...	...	...	4.	-
one tobacco box of gold poiz	...	...	...	2.	2½
one lime box poiz ...	...	...	...	2.	8
one box for pens gold poiz	...	...	...	1.	-
one spoon gold poiz	...	...	...	-.	8
one knife poiz gold	...	...	...	-.	6
				1.	14. 2½
one Crown of gold poiz	...	...	...	4.	10½

A present from Oybarkalong to the President. One open Bullset set with mother of pearl and a standard for the said Bullset bordered with leaf silver.

Mr. Richard Fursland, the representative of the English East India Company and thereby representative of King James of England, wrote to the King of Siam on the 27th March 1623 informing the King that he had received the King's ambassadors at Jacatra, Batavia, with such honour and ceremony as was at his disposal, but he felt that the reception accorded the ambassadors fell far short of what should have been given the envoys of such a high and mighty Prince, because he himself was only a guest on Dutch subdued territory. This point is of interest as showing the position of the English in the East in those days. Mr. Fursland thanks the King for the privileges he has granted the English in his own dominions, and for his promise to extend such privileges to Cambodia when that rebellious country shall have been subdued. Mr. Fursland warned the King that he was about to close down the English trading depôt in Ayudhya as it was run at a loss. I quote Mr. Fursland's letter:

Extract of Letter from Richard Fursland dated Jacatra, 27th March 1623, to the High and Mighty Monarch of Judia, Prabat Somdet Parama Bophit Phra Buddha Chao Yu Hua, &c.

Your Majesty's gracious offer unto me, of privileges at Cambodia, (when you shall have subdued them), as also your promise of such other privileges as I shall request in all places of your Majesty's Dominions, I do most gratefully accept of, and shall be bold to make use of them, and of your gracious favour upon all fit opportunities which shall be offered, and may tend to the good of my Sovereign's subjects.

The respect and entertainment which I have given here unto your Majesty's servants has been such as is befitting the messengers of so mighty a King as is your Majesty, yet it has not been so ample as I desire, by reason of the place where we do live, which is the Hollanders' subdued country; but I hope your servants are contented, and that your Majesty will also be pleased when they shall relate unto you their usage, and such other matters as I have related unto them concerning our common abode in this Town of Batavia. And thus much your Majesty may please to receive in answer to your Letter sent me.

The state of Siam trade is at present for us English so small and the charge thereof so great, that we can reap no profit by it, and it is not unknown to your Majesty that the life of merchants is to gain by the trade they follow, for otherwise they cannot subsist. The want whereof at present in that trade which we have in your Majesty's Dominions is the only occasion that I must now remove our merchants from thence, and so lessen the great

charge which now they are at without any profit to maintain it. Wherefore I request and entreat your Highness that you will be pleased to give them leave to depart in this Ship, which I have now sent at a great cost and charge, purposely to return your Majesty's servants, and to bring my people from thence. And I further entreat your Majesty, that you will be pleased to appoint some of your servants to keep the house which you bestowed upon the English, until such time as they shall return thither again, which I trust will be shortly. In the mean time I request and entreat your Majesty that you will be pleased to send me your Tra, for free trade at Ligor in as large and ample manner as the Hollanders have it, which if you shall be pleased to grant unto the English, I shall accept it as a singular favour from you, and shall thereby be encouraged to send again the next year into your Majesty's Dominions.

(This document is a late copy. The original has not been traced).

On the 2nd August 1624 the President and Council of the English East India Company at Batavia wrote to the King of Siam a letter couched in the most complimentary language begging His Majesty to allow their chief shipwright who had been lent to the King to return to Batavia by a ship which was sent for the purpose. I quote the letter here as a good example of the language used in diplomatic correspondence at that time:

Translation of the preceding letter of 2nd August 1624.

The President and Council of the illustrious English Company, subjects of the most High and Mighty King, James, By the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian faith, pray for health, peace and tranquillity for the Most High and Invincible Eastern Emperor, King of Oudea (Ayuthia), Phrabad Somdet Parama Bophit Phra Buddha Chao Yuhua &c., with increase of the favours of God in this life and eternal happiness in the future.

It was your goodness alone (Invincible Emperor) which made you value the friendship of foreigners in the high degree shown by the letters and gifts of Your Majesty sent, not only formerly, but also now by Señor Duarte Longo.

But as this is the outcome of your most noble intentions, it only remains for us to show our appreciation of such high favours by conveying with zealous energy the graciousness of the King of Oudea to our Most Noble Sovereign and the other kings of the northern world that they may marvel at the eternal glory of your Majesty. Meanwhile, we humbly beg that Your Highness may be pleased to give us leave to abridge and include the several parts of the letters of Your Majesty in these two small paragraphs.

The first is that we take as expedited, and already done and accomplished, all the matters promised by Your Majesty in your letters.

The second that, on our side, all that we can do for the honour of Your Majesty will be carried through with as goodwill as we now promise to do it.

This we desire most strongly to prove to Your Majesty that we have changed the destination of this ship from countries near by, to which it was sailing in search of supplies, and are sending it to Your Majesty's territories especially to convey (agreeably to Your Majesty's wishes) our chief shipwright, for whose service there is (apparently) some hurry, humbly begging that the said shipwright may be allowed to return at the end of a year to the supervision of our big ships in these parts.

And we beg, for the better dispatch of this ship, that the subjects of Your Majesty may show all diligence and amity in selling to us, for our money, the supplies and necessaries for the lading of the said ship by such time that she can conveniently return to us at the commencement of the summer monsoon, under God's guidance.

All which we will always acknowledge and remember among the multitude of noteworthy favours of Your Majesty. And so, with our prayers to Almighty God, &c.

In Batavia.

2d. August in the year 1624.

While the English were consolidating their position in Siam, the Dutch, although opposed to the penetration of the English, do not appear to have taken any active steps. Trade was at a low ebb in the reign of King Song Tham because this monarch neglected to strengthen the military position of his country. The Dutch closed their factory in Ayudhya in 1622, but trade relations continued and diplomatic courtesies were exchanged. The English closed their factory or depôt in 1624. This was done with some difficulty as Mr. Edward Long for some reasons of his own declined to obey the orders of his employers, and remained on at Ayudhya where he got into trouble with the Dutch and nearly lost his life at the hands of the Government. Mr. Edward Long eventually left Ayudhya in December 1624 on board the "Robuck," and died on the voyage to Batavia.

Maurits Prince of Orange, Stadtholder, having died, was succeeded by his brother, who on his succession sent a letter dated 17th January 1627 to King Song Tham notifying his accession. In this letter the Prince asked for a continuance of the royal favours to the Dutch people. The letter then goes on to thank the King for having rescued the yacht *Seelandt* from the Spaniards and requests that the restoration may be complete by handing over the merchandise and cash so that the Dutch "may have reason for complete thankfulness."

King Song Tham died in April 1628. He was succeeded by his son, Chetthathirat. An embassy was sent to Japan in 1629 to inform the Shoguns of the accession of the new King. The ambassadors were Luang Sakol Decha (หลวงสกลเดชะ), Khun Sawat (ขุนสวัสดิ์) and Khun Yothamat (ขุนโยธามาศ), and it is stated that they were received in audience by the two Shoguns, father and son. The father, Hidetada, received the ambassadors on his yacht the "Nishiromaru," and the son, Iemitsu, on board the yacht "Comaru" the 4th of November 1629. At the audience, the ambassadors presented the King's letter which was written on a tablet of gold together with a translation in Chinese, the two documents being encased in an ivory cylinder. Presents were sent to both the Shoguns and many of the dignitaries of State, as well as the Governor of Nagasaki. This embassy, having carried out its mission, had a farewell audience of the Shoguns on the 16th November 1629, and returned to Siam. We have a copy of King Chetthathirat's letter which is said to be dated 23rd April 1629. In this letter the King informs the Shogun of the death of his father, and expresses a wish for a continuation of friendly relations with Japan, and promises to give all assistance in his power to the Japanese traders as though they were Siamese. He told the Shogun that he had appointed an official to look after the interest of the Japanese.

It is a curious fact that the King in this letter should refer to himself as the Heir-Apparent. It should be remembered in this connection that van Vliet tells us that the Heir-Apparent was the brother of the King, and that King Song Tham, by insisting on the succession going to his son, broke the law of succession in use in Siam at that time. It was held that Chetthathirat was not the legitimate King, because two brothers of King Song Tham were, probably, alive; and we know for certain that one at least Phra Sri Sin was living at the time of the death of the King. We do not know whether the other brother, Prince Thong (พระองค์ทอง), died before or after his brother, the King Song Tham. Can it be that Okya Kalahom insisted on this phrase being put in the letter to the Shogun in order to prevent Japanese susceptibilities about right of succession being shocked? Our records, in the *Collection of the Historical Data*, Part XX, tell us that Yamada despatched a trading vessel from Ayudhya in the latter part of October, and that the three ambassadors travelled on this

ship. As the Siamese Ambassadors, mentioned in Yamada's letter dated 27th March 1629 (that is a month before the King wrote his letter) addressed to Seki-Chikara-no-suke, a Minister of State in Japan, are the same as given in the Royal rescript, one must presume that they were the ambassadors received in audience by the two Shoguns in November 1629. During the years 1628 and 1629 there were many happenings of great import in Ayudhya. King Chetthathirat ascended the throne in April 1628. He reigned for eighteen months when he was executed. This would bring us to September 1629. This King was succeeded by his brother, Athityawong, who, van Vliet says, ruled for only thirty-six days. This would bring us to the first or second week in November. Van Vliet in his *Historical Account* leads one to believe that Yamada left the Capital to take up his new appointment as Governor of Nakhon Sri Thammarat after the accession of King Athityawong, but before his execution. I have said in another part of this paper that King Athityawong may have been deposed after reigning for thirty-six days, but was executed some time later. Our record says that Yamada wrote to Sekai-Chikara-no-suke on the 27th March 1629, but the letter together with that of the King was only despatched from Siam in the latter part of October. This ship must have left Ayudhya at the end of September or the beginning of October, for if it was despatched in the latter part of October, it could not possibly have been in Japan early in November, so that the ambassadors were able to see the Shoguns on the 4th of November. Another curious fact in connection with this matter is that Sir Ernest Satow places on record that this embassy was sent to Japan to apprise the Shoguns of the accession of King Athityawong not Chetthathirat. It is noticed that two dates are frequently given for the writing of a letter, and that these dates are twenty-eight days apart. This leads one to believe that the recorder was not certain in his mind of the exact European month which corresponded with the Siamese month. If I am right in my assumption in this matter then Yamada's letter may have been sent in the latter part of September, and then all would be well. The letter written by King Chetthathirat may have been sent and used for the purpose of informing the Shogun of the accession of King Athityawong. This is the more probable, as we know that King Prasat Thong did not wish to stand before the Shoguns of Japan as the executioner of King Chetthathirat, When the Siamese ambassadors were having their

audience with the Shoguns, King Athityawong had certainly been deposed, and may have been executed. It was only about three years after this embassy returned to Siam that Japan broke off all relations with King Prasat Thong, and that this King expelled from the country those Japanese who had not been murdered.

(3) IN THE PRASAT THONG PERIOD A. D. 1629-1656.

The years 1628 and 1629 were years during which political crises followed each other with great rapidity. Two Kings were executed and three Kings were crowned. These changes necessitated the shedding of much blood principally that of the best men of the country. No countries could thrive under these conditions. The years between 1629 and 1633 saw a continuance of disorders largely due to the steps taken by King Prasat Thong to establish himself firmly on the throne. Many princes and noblemen of both high and low estate, who had not espoused his cause or had shown dissatisfaction, were ruthlessly murdered. This process of elimination was extended even to the princesses and other female members of the Royal House, many of whom were executed. That great personality, Yamada, was sent out of the Capital with his soldiers as the King feared him. Although Yamada was murdered, according to Mr. Gunji, the Japanese scholar, at the end of 1630 or the beginning of 1631, King Prasat Thong did not feel safe till O-In, Yamada's son, had been disposed of. As the King feared a general revolt on the part of the Japanese to avenge the death of their leader, this process of elimination was continued, and was brought to bear in a brutal manner on all the Japanese in the Kingdom. The King succeeded by acts of murder and exile in destroying the Japanese, for it would seem that in the early months of 1633 none of them remained in the Kingdom.

The trade between Siam and Japan was a factor of paramount importance in the economic life of Siam, probably more important than the combined trade between Siam and other foreign countries. I am convinced that the balance of trade was in favour of Siam. The Japanese traders bought Siamese goods with silver bullion, which was of great value in strengthening the economic and financial position of Siam. Japan bought deer skins in almost incredible numbers, for we are told both by van Vliet and Schouten that the aggregate annual export amounted to 150,000 skins. Japan also took tin, tim-

ber, teak, Saphan wood, planks, sugar, coconut oil, lead and a variety of other commodities. The disturbances in the Kingdom between 1628 and 1633 seriously affected the Japan trade. After the Japanese had been driven out of the country, this trade ceased altogether, for no ships came from Japan. The Siamese could not trade with Japan without a special licence, and such licences were withheld by the Shogun. The trade between Siam and Japan continued to be carried on by the Chinese in a sporadic and intermittent fashion.

Dating from 1612, when Siamese vessels commenced to trade with Japan, it was the custom for the Government to appoint Siamese Trade Commissioners to travel on the ships, and to supervise the sale of the cargoes, and the purchase of commodities as cargo for the return voyage. These Trade Commissioners were officials, and the ships and the cargoes were generally the property of the King. Although the Chinese continued to carry on the trade, Siamese Trade Commissioners travelled on the ships as formerly, for a large portion of the cargo belonged to the King. These Commissioners, being Siamese, were not allowed to go on shore in Japan although this privilege was granted to the Chinese and Malay crews of the ships.

The economic and financial position of Siam was seriously affected by the steps taken by King Prasat Thong to eliminate all rivals whether Siamese or foreigners, who might question his right to the throne. Silver no longer came from Japan. Van Vliet tells us that trade began to shrink. As the King was himself the chief trader, his profits and his wealth were much diminished and, therefore, King Prasat Thong changed his policy. and relenting of what he had done to the Japanese, tried to induce them to return to the country. Some seventy or eighty responded, and were allowed to settle in the Capital. They were given land, and special privileges and again enjoyed the right to appoint their own headman. The King, in May 1635, sent an embassy headed by Okkhun Sri Phakdi to Japan in an attempt to restore the old friendly relations with that country. The ambassador failed in his mission because the Japanese refused to receive him. On the return voyage to Siam the ship conveying the ambassador called at a port in Formosa; and, while at anchor in the river Mattauw on the 11th January 1637, was struck by a typhoon and wrecked and the ambassador drowned. In October 1641 a rumour was current in Ayudhya that the King was about to send another embassy to Japan and two ships were requisitioned

from Chaiya and Nakhon Sri Thamarat for the purpose of conveying the embassy. We do not know whether this embassy ever left Siam, but it is clear from van Vliet's *Historical Account* that ambassadors were sent to Japan and had not returned to Siam in 1645. This embassy, probably left Ayudhya in 1643 or 1644. The reason for the Japanese refusal to receive Okkhun Sri Phakdi was probably because the Japanese Government did not recognise King Prasat Thong's right to the throne, but the later embassies were refused admission to the country owing to the promulgation of an Edict closing Japan. The reasons for the promulgation of the Edict closing Japan to foreign intercourse were threefold; firstly, because of the unruly conduct of foreigners in Hirado and Nagasaki and the activities of missionaries of the Christian faith, which had led to some extent to the disintegration of the social laws and customs of the people. Foreigners were banned from the country. The Dutch alone were granted in 1640 a restricted form of residence on a small islet called Deshima in front of Nagasaki and the right to trade. Secondly, because the Shogun feared that the Japanese, by going to foreign countries, might create awkward political problems; and thirdly because it was feared that if the Japanese nationals were allowed to go to foreign countries, they might be converted to Christianity, and on their return spread the tenets of that faith in Japan. This prohibition also laid a ban on the export of military weapons.

Friendly relations with Japan were not restored till the 25th of September 1887, and these friendly relations only began to bear fruit in 1897. In that year Mr. Inagaki was appointed the first Minister of Japan to the Court of Siam, and negotiated a treaty to replace the one mentioned above. This new treaty was signed in 1898. Since last year the friendship between the two countries has increased to such an extent, that one feels as if we were back in the days of King Song Tham.

Having digressed from the main theme in order to show the extraordinary results based on the principle of cause and effect, which arose from King Prasat Thong's action in driving the Japanese out of the country, an action which continued to have effect for 255 years, I will now continue my story.

Japanese participation in the trade of Siam having ceased in the year 1633, the Dutch, perhaps the most diplomatic of the foreign traders, took advantage of the new commercial situation to strengthen

their position in Ayudhya. The Dutch East India Company, through their depôt in Ayudhya, picked up the commercial thread lost by the Japanese, and carried on the Siam trade with Japan. Their trade was so flourishing and their position so strong as they now had few competitors, that they decided to erect a great stone house or lodge with warehouses and wharves on the river in place of the old wood building which Joost Schouten says was in the city of Ayudhya. The following extract taken from Joost Schouten's *A Description of the Government, Might, Religion, Customs of Siam*, written in 1636, will make the position clear.

It is more than thirty years since the Netherlanders came first to Siam, and were admitted of by His Majesty, so that the company have judged it necessary, for the cherishing of their traffick and alliance with so mighty a Prince, to settle there; to which end they builded a house, or lodge, of wood in the the City of Iudia (Ayudhya), where they trade in inland commodities, and selling of clothes, as also buying of Harts-skins, Sappang, etc. which are sent yearly to Japan: the Company indeed hath not profited much, by reason of several misfortunes by this traffick; but they have gained more reputation than any Europeans besides, by the great friendship and correspondence which is betwixt them and the King; also have had the benefit of transporting great quantities of all sorts of provisions in Batamia (Batavia), which friendship, notwithstanding the several successions of the Princes, disturbing the Companies Cantore and Servants, is yet sufficiently conserved and continued, and ought in my opinion to be cherished, as absolutely necessary for the good and welfare of our Company, as also in regard of the King's civil usage of us, and his aversion to the Spaniards, our common enemy; finally our factory established there in the year 1603, and trading during my four years direction, are so much corrected and increased, that the Company hath remarkably gained by them, with probability, with good management of more signal advantages. To which end the General and Councel of India caused in Anno 1634 a stone lodge, with fit pack-houses, pleasant apartments, and a commodious landing place, to be builded on the borders of the River Menam, being one of the convenientest and best scituated of any that unfortified in all the Indiaes.

I have just said that the Dutch had few commercial competitors, and this is borne out by Joost Schouten. The Portuguese, who had attained to a position of military and commercial supremacy in the East, were unable to hold that position against the unrelenting and stubborn advance of the Dutch, past masters in commercial intrigues and politics. The Portuguese lost the great influence they had in Ayudhya, and their power was crumbling. The Kings in

Ayudhya at this period commenced to withdraw their favour which they transferred to the Dutch. The Portuguese retaliated by attacking and seizing the King's ships, and attempted unsuccessfully to blockade the coast of Mergui and Tenasserim which then belonged to Siam. This brought about their downfall in Siam where many were in prison. The astute Hollanders turned the situation to their own advantage. They even went so far as to give King Prasat Thong military assistance against his enemies.

Owing to the trade being in the hands of the Dutch, the actual profit to Siam was, probably, not so great as when the Japanese bought Siamese commodities with silver. King Prasat Thong, finding that the economic position of the country was weakening, turned his eyes to India in order to increase trade, and, possibly, to break the Dutch monopoly in the trade of the country. Van Vliet, in his Treatise, throws a most interesting light on the policy of the King. He tells us :

The Siamese King has during his reign made alliances and has kept up friendship with the kings of Rammaradt Cotopsia, on the coast of Choramandel, and with the Nawab of Bengal. Every year ambassadors are sent out from both sides with letters full of praises and compliments and also with small presents. This is only due to promote trade, for the Moorish and Gentile merchants often try to secure the assistance of the embassy in order to pay less duties and to become more free in their trade. The Siamese subjects in the above named places try to get the same advantages. So that this friendship is not kept up for political considerations, but only to get more profits. The governors of Paliacatta (Kalighat, modern Calcutta), seeing that their neighbours through the gorgeous embassy have gained the King's favour and enjoyed many profits, have imitated the same comedy and have abased themselves so far, that besides a rich present, they offered the king duly five successive years the golden and silver flowers. This means, that the town Paliacatta is subjected to the Siamese Crown. The principal object was to get a few elephants. It was dishonour for the towns and Moorish castes and by this action great disrespect was also shown towards the (Dutch) Company's servants. For now the arrogant Siamese believe, that they have the supreme power, not only over Paliacatta, but also over the Netherlands fortress and everything connected with our trade. It means also that the Company's servants reside out there under the shadow of the king. Notwithstanding their humbleness the ambassadors from Paliacatta were so little respected, that they have never been allowed to appear in audience before the King or His Majesty's Council, but they have only been received by the Berckelagh in the public court.

This policy was rendered possible, because Siam possessed two ports namely Mergui and Tenassarim on the Bay of Bengal. These provinces were brought back under Siamese suzerainty by King Naresuan. The King, finding his share of the profits accruing from the trade diminishing, began to impose all kinds of imposts and restrictions on the movements of the trade. He may have gained a temporary advantage, but the logical result was that Siam became economically weak for trade, and under these conditions could not flourish.

The above sketch of the conditions prevailing in Siam during the reign of King Prasat Thong is supported by the letters and reports collected and printed in the *Dagh Register*, a daily journal kept in Batavia Castle by the Dutch, and the *Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century* (National Library, Bangkok).

The English, who closed down their trading depot in Ayudhya in 1624, do not seem to have taken any interest in the Siam trade during the reign of King Prasat Thong, for no mention is made by the Dutch of English commercial or other competition during that period. The position of the Dutch in Ayudhya was strong but not stable. The Dutch had practically entered into a military alliance with Siam, based largely on selfish ground, because they desired to use Siam for the purpose of breaking the Spanish and Portuguese power, and they were successful. Cambodia from the time of King Song Tham had remained in a state of rebellion, and the Dutch had promised the King military support in suppressing the revolt. The Southern provinces, including Patani, were in a state of continual ferment during the whole of this reign. The Dutch offered to send warships, but they do not seem to have come on the scene at the right time. For there was little co-operation between the Siamese and Dutch forces. This led to many disputes with the King who retaliated by placing all kinds of obstacles in the way of the Dutch traders. The Dutch, however, held the trump-card. Whenever the King and his officials became unpleasant they threatened to close down their factory in Ayudhya and remove the same to Cambodia. This threat always brought the King to his knees, because he feared that the Cambodians supported by the Dutch might overcome him, and also because it would mean the cessation of Siam's foreign trade. The Japanese traders had been eliminated, the English were not interested, the Spanish and Portu-

guese had little authority, there only remained the Dutch. If they became exasperated and gave up Siam, the King with all his might could do nothing, he could not even trade, for the Dutch held command of the seas.

A short account of the diplomatic relations existing between Siam and Holland in this reign may interest the reader. Mr. W. Blankwaardt has written and published in the Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. xx, part 3, 1927, a valuable paper on the relations existing between Holland and Siam from the time of the coming of the Dutch to the East to the present time. This paper is not complete as regards the reign of King Prasat Thong.

I find that in 1631, the Governor General of the Dutch East India Company wrote in friendly terms to the King in order to improve the relations especially the trading conditions between the two countries. The King replied to the Governor General and at the same time sent a letter to be forwarded to the Prince of Orange. The King, being at the time in trouble with the Japanese, received the Governor General's letter with great pomp and ceremony as he desired to obtain military assistance from the Dutch.

The governing body of the Dutch East India Company at the Hague, composed of seventeen Commissioners, wrote in 1632 to the Governor General in Batavia stressing the importance of keeping on friendly terms with Siam. The King wrote again to the Prince of Orange in 1633, but I cannot trace the letter. Friedrich Henrich, by the Grace of God Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, etc., replied to the King in 1634 or 1635 sending the Royal missive together with a crown and sword by the hands of a special Commissary to the Governor General for delivery to the King. Joost Schouten was appointed special commissioner and travelled to Ayudhya, leaving Batavia on the 13th August 1636. The Royal message and presents from Holland were received with pomp. The letter is interesting, so I reproduce it:

The Prince of Orange to the King of Siam.

(Dated 1634 or 1635).

Friedrich Henrich, by the Grace of God Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, &c., &c., Captain General and Admiral of the United Netherlands, to the mighty King of Siam in the city Judea, wishes long life, health a prosperous reign and victory over his enemies.

We have received by our ships recently arrived from the East Indies your Majesty's agreeable and valuable letters together with the accompanying gifts from your Majesty's royal city, presented to us by the captain of the fleet, whereby we clearly perceive your Majesty's particular royal affection and love to our Netherland nation, with frank declaration and testimony of your Majesty's good will towards the maintenance of the old alliance and correspondence between your Majesty's Kingdom and this state, which we esteem and value as highly as anything in the world. With reference to which we also find ourselves bound hereby to assure Your Majesty again, that as long as the world lasts we and our successors will always maintain these relations inviolate and unchanged.

It was beyond measure grievous to us to hear of the death of your Majesty's predecessor, our worthy and trust (?), but, on the other hand, on learning that your Majesty by the direction of the great God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, has been openly acknowledged and crowned King of Siam, to the great content of all the subjects of your Majesty's Kingdom, we have even better reason to rejoice that we have found in the person of your Majesty one still greater and more trusty. We have no doubt that your Majesty, of your natural loving kindness, has, long before now, taken Cambodia and Patani into favour again, or by other means has brought them back to their bounden duty and obedience. We wish it were possible to give help to your Majesty in this matter, wherein we should do you the best and most agreeable service, the more so since we see that your Majesty continues willing and inclined to continue the war against the Spaniards and Portuguese, your Majesty's and our hereditary enemies, being assured that thereby your Majesty's state will be maintained in greater tranquillity.

In order that it may appear how much we esteem your Majesty's good inclination and love to our nation, we are sending by our special commissary a crown, and sword, the peculiar ornament with which European kings are adorned and arrayed, begging that your Majesty will be pleased not to consider this small gift but as a token of our goodwill and affection.

With reference to what our Commissary shall report to your Majesty about this country's war we beg your Majesty to trust him.

In conclusion, relying on your Majesty's continuing (as before in the most praiseworthy fashion) to be helpful and to lend a favouring hand to our Netherland nation in their business and all their endeavours appertaining thereto, so that they may carry on their trade, and without hindrance freely and undisturbed get and export what they need, may God the Lord keep your Majesty more and more to your utmost satisfaction and desire in your rule. So with our most dutiful respects and hearty greetings, Your Majesty's &c.

The story of the manner in which this royal missive together with a letter from the Governor General were received in Ayudhya is most illuminating and also of historical value, for not only does it give us an insight into Court ceremonial but it also throws light on the political condition existing in Siam in 1636 and provides evidence of the military alliance between Siam and Holland. Reference is made to the submission of Patani to Siam after six years of war, and of the King's intention to continue the war against Cambodia which had been in a state of rebellion since 1622 or possibly earlier. It is interesting to know that the King (Emperor) of China was obliged to appoint a permanent mission composed of four cultured Chinese to reside in Ayudhya in order to prevent misunderstanding between Siam and China which had occurred owing to the language difficulty. It also appears that although Patani had submitted to Siam, and Siam was in alliance with Holland, the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies threatened to declare war on Patani should a claim put forward by some Javanese under Dutch Protection not be satisfied. The Siamese Foreign Minister in polite language tried to make the Governor General understand that such hostile proceedings would not be in accord with international procedure. The cargo of rice referred to in this Report, which the King permitted to be exported, is the same cargo which Joost Schouten obtained a licence to export through the good offices of the Queen and her ladies, thus showing the means used to attain an object. I insert the report here:

30th. December 1636.

With the vessel Delft came the commissioner Joost Schouten from Siam, who was sent last 13th August from here to present to His Majesty the gold missive together with the excellent gift of his princely grace the Sire Prince of Orange, consisting of a beautiful gold crown and a sword.

From the same report and written account submitted to the Governor General and to the Council of India we extract the following:—

That the vessels above mentioned, after much trouble and after many dangers, arrived at last on the 15th of September in the river of Siam and reached Bangkok on the 19th of September with the letters and the gifts. There they stayed owing to the indolence of the Siamese till the 23rd, at which date the letter of the Sire Prince of Orange after Siamese Custom was received in state, and, with a suite of 10 *prahus* and about 400 persons, was brought up to a point one mile below the town of Judia. From there the same was conveyed with pomp on the 26th by 12 *prahus* and 800 men to

the city and brought into the King's palace, where it was opened in presence of the highest mandarins of the kingdom in the hall. It was translated into Siamese, and as it came written in gold from such a high Prince, it was placed with the gold statues of the Gods and of the ancient kings, an honour showed only to the gold letters of the Kings of China and Pegu.

The said missive of the Prince of Orange and the added gifts of the gold royal crown and of the sword have pleased the King so much that the sword shall be carried before his Majesty in the yearly splendid procession to the principal temple of Judia, and if the crown had been of pyramidal shape and if the sword had been decorated more richly it would have pleased His Majesty still more, and the crown would have been worn by the King in the war or on expeditions.

The missives of the honourable Heer General to the King and to the Oya Berkelangh were brought in state on the 23rd of September to the new compound, and they were literally translated in the hall of a fine temple in the presence of many delegated mandarins. The translation was communicated the next day by the Berkelang to the King and to his council, who were very astonished at the clear advice concerning the rice as they did not expect such outspoken statements, and the delegate Schouten was informed that this letter convinced them of their error. Beyond his expectation, in view of the indolence of the Siamese, the delegate was granted an audience very soon, so that on the 2nd of October the letters and gifts of the Sire Prince of Orange and of the Honourable Heer General were presented, with assistance of the merchant van Vliet, and in the presence of the most powerful mandarins of the kingdom, in due form, in the great royal hall, and were received and accepted by his Majesty with great pleasure and contentment. The translation of the letters was read in public—but what the Honourable Heer General had written concerning the rice and the restitution of the debt from Patani, was omitted with caution,—so as to show the minor mandarins and the common people that their prince was in complete continued friendship with the Netherlands Government. After having finished the reading of the letters and after some discussion, the king asked the delegate whether he had still to propose to or to beg anything else from his Majesty, stating that he could do so if he wanted through the Berkelang, and his requests would be granted in every reasonable matter. For this his Majesty was thanked and after the presents with due ceremony of betel chewing had been received, and a catty of silver given, they departed from the palace to the compound of the Company.

The next day delegate Schouten was asked, by a sabander, by order of the king, what he had to say or to beg that was not mentioned in the missive of the Heer General,—if his Honour had ordered him to claim this year rice and paddy, and how much we had the intention to claim. Also from which junks

those from Patania had taken the 5603 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rs. and what were the names of the anackodas.

Thereupon the delegate answered, that he had to ask nothing else than that his Majesty would continue his favourable affection towards the Netherlands and show them his continued favour and assistance, that the property taken was to be restored to the Batavian Japanese, and that the Oya Signorativo (!) should be condemned to restore the damage to Jan van Meerwyck, that the King's command on those of Patany to restore the above mentioned 5603 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rs. might be given, or that otherwise they had to claim it by hostile ways. Also that the Honourable Heer General was not satisfied with the poor supply last year of 100 coyan rice and 200 coyan paddy, after His Majesty's promise to our people of 400 coyans rice and 400 coyans paddy, that therefore we were compelled to provide ourselves from other quarters and that in future the Siamese could keep their rice and paddy. All these reasons were written down by the sabander, read by the Berkelang and submitted to the King, who was very astonished at them, and who observed very well that he had been deceived in his erroneous idea, that Batavia could not do without the Siamese rice. About the restitution of the Japanese taxed property and about the claim of the Meerwyck on the Oya Singorat (!) the delegate has obtained nothing. About the pretended 5603 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rs. from those of Patany, he received no other answer, than that His Majesty had not sufficient reasons to order the Patanese the restitution wanted, as the anackodas of the captured junks (according to the words of the Berkelang) had said that they were not in possession of Batavian goods. With this impudent and simple lie this lawful matter was excused and refused. Thereupon the delegate Schouten by order of the Heer General wrote a missive in the Malay language from Siam to Datu Bandara, first mandarin of Patany, which runs as follows :

'Missive of Joost Schouten, delegate of the serene Prince of Holland and of the Honourable Heer Governor General of India, to His Royal Majesty of Siam, addressed to Datu Bandara, first mandarin of Patany.

'Six years ago, when Patany revolted from Siam, Siamese junks from Batavia were returning to India and arriving at Patany they were seized by order of the Queen. The Chinese citizens of Batavia had put goods of a value of 5603 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rs. on board as detailed in the subjoined memorandum. These goods were taken from them as well as the Siamese goods by the Dato Besaar, in defiance of the duty of friendship, for which reason the Heer Governor General wrote the next year from Batavia to Dato Bandara asking him for a fair restitution, but this has been refused without a reply. About this matter the Heer General sent the next year Commander Anthony Caen to Patany with such letter as is known by your honour and by the other regents,

upon which, however, no peace with Siam or restitution of the damage committed followed. That was the reason that the Hon. General assisted the King of Siam against Patany.

‘Since then Patany has conciliated the King of Siam by the customary reverence, which was communicated by His Majesty to the Honourable Heer General in Batavia, who thereupon asked for the restitution of the stolen property. We trust that justice will be done so that Batavia and Patany can be united as before.

‘When, however, the Queen and the mandarins of Patany will put off the restitution from day to day or, with stupid reasons, excuse themselves, then its people is warned by order of the Heer General, that notwithstanding that Patany is at peace with Siam, the war with the Hollanders will go on, so that the junks sailing for Siam and elsewhere will be seized in a hostile way, as is written by the Heer General to His Majesty of Siam. But if the Queen and the mandarins will decide to restore the 5603 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rs., the Heer General will give peace to that people, when they send a delegation to Batavia, and the trade of the Company with Patany will be renewed. Finally your Honour and the other Governors of Patany are advised to do in this important matter, what is necessary for the contentment of the King of Siam and for the safety of Patany and its inhabitants. Done in the Royal capital Judia in the year of the Rat the 4th of the month Oij (!).

Signed Joost Schouten.’

What the answer on the missive about the restitution claimed will be, time will tell. After that the delegate Schouten begged His Majesty urgently to grant him leave from Siam, but owing to the indolence of the Berkelang, the superstitious worship and the continual water-feasts of the King, it was not granted until 23rd November, when the King asked him if the vessel for starting was ready, if his business in Siam had been brought to a happy conclusion, etc. Thereupon the delegate replied that he had been tolerably successful in his business and that he was ready to start.

The King said furthermore that he had received the golden letter and the gift of the Prince of Orange with great pleasure, and that he intended to send with him as a proof of friendship also such a letter and gift to His Excellency. Also that the letter and gift of the Honourable Heer General had given him great pleasure and in reply thereto he would cause a letter to be written and same to be sent with a gift to Batavia, etc. After this speech the delegate was awarded a gold garland, the value of which was about 50 Rs., and a Siamese gown, and his leave was granted. On the 28th of November the missive of the King and the gifts for the Prince of Orange and for the Honourable Heer General were handed to the delegate and were brought on board the vessel *t Wapen van Delft* by two delegated mandarins with great pomp by means of one rowing frigate and three *proas*, and were accepted with respect-

ful ceremonies. Thereupon the delegate started from the river of Siam on the 4th of December after having handed instructions to advance the interests of the Company to the merchant van Vliet (according to his orders). The gift of the King to His Princely Excellency consists of a Siamese Royal crown, decorated with red and green stones, and 10 pieces silk stuffs were sent by the King's brother to his Honour.

At the end of December the above mentioned missive and the gift of the King of Siam for his Grace the Prince of Orange and for the Honourable Heer General were brought by the delegate from the vessel *t Wapen van Delft* into the castle, and landed with salutes from the guns and three volleys of musketry. The missive runs as follows:—

Translation of the missive to the Prince of Orange:—

‘Golden written evidence of alliance full of divine radiance, the most excellent things, all wise sciences included, the happiest one existing with the human beings in the world, the best and the strongest bond ever formed in heaven, on earth or in hell, the sweetest and kindest royal words, which by virtue of known capacities and glorious fame runs through the earth by divine power as if the dead rose and wondrously were freed from all spiritual and corporal corruptions, wherein the reigning trading and serving people were astonished with a strange gladness, so this is without any comparison with any dignity as it comes with a glad heart and loving friendship and divine, graceful, unconquerable golden crown decorated with many pure stones from the greatest and purest divine lord of the everlasting souls, the holiest all shading ruler of the greatest and noblest kingdom of Siam, a radical of the fine big city Judia which has its many folds, streets and gates filled with people, and the greatest capital of the world which adorns the earthly royal throne with nine sorts of stones and which is the most agreeable country the owner of which is more than the gods and his house is of gold and precious stones, the divine lord of golden thrones of the white and red elephants and of those with a long tail, which three sorts are the specimens of travelling animals given by the supreme lord of nine gods to none else than to the divine lord in whose land is the most the victorious sword, fiery arm of the god of war.

‘To the illustrious, puissant, victorious Prince Frederick Heyndrick, by the Grace of God Prince of Orange, Count of Nassoun, Catsenellebooghen, Vyandon, Diets, Linghen, Meurs, Bueren, Leerdam, Marquis of Veer, and Vlissinghen, Sire and Baron of the city Grave and of the country of Cuyck, Diest, Granbergha, Horstal, Cranendenck, Warnoston, Arley, Noserayst, wt Daesburgh, Poolannen, Willemstadt, Nieuwevaert, Iselsteyn, St. Kaertensdyck, Geertrydenbergh, Chasteau Reguardt de Hooghe en de lage Swaluwe, Naeltwyck and hereditary Viscount of Antwerp and Besançon, hereditary Marshal of Hollant, Governor of Gelderlandt, Hollandt, Zeeland and

Westvrieslandt, Zutphen, Utrecht and Overysel and Captain General and Admiral of the united Netherland Provinces.

‘Your Excellency’s eminent golden missive and royal gift have been presented to us by your Excellency’s delegate with pleasure, and we learned with satisfaction that the person of Your Excellency with his lands and subjects, through God’s protection, enjoys good and happy welfare, with which news we were as delighted as if the high God had given the whole world for ourself alone.

‘It is true that our states and Your Excellency’s dominions are separated by a long distance, but through the old firm friendship they were united to a gold mass, so that we consider as our duty to fight against his enemies with our force of elephants, horses and soldiers, if Your Excellency wish, and to assist him also on water with our galleys, *proas* and military till the enemies are annihilated, trusting that if our kingdom wants help at any time, Your Excellency will also assist us with his forces and ships because our mutual great friendship requires such assistance.

‘The Hollanders, Your Excellency’s subjects, negotiating in our states, are favoured by us, and treated with more care than our own vassals.

‘While our friendship is so great and excellent that it is confirmed with the sending of golden letters, the hearty affection cannot be declared clearly. The Kings of China and Judia used to send each other in the old times their golden letters to cement their friendship, but as the King of China could not explain his heart’s meaning (for want of experienced interpreters) he has sent four learned men to Siam as permanent servants for the Siamese Crown. Since then the letters are well and thoroughly translated which is the strongest preservation of such a durable friendship that the strong friendship of us and our successors may increase and may last as long as the sun will shine and the moon will give light, so Your Excellency has to consider and to order, how that can be done in the best way.

‘From our royal city Judia in the year of the rat, the 9th day of the 12th full (waxing? . . . ed.) moon, that is 21st November 1636.’

Translation of the missive written by order of the King of Siam by the Oya Berckelangh to the Honourable Heer Governor General:—

‘The Oya or Duke, radiant of sincerity, noble of race, one of the highest vassals of the great King, wise in forethought, illustrious and of royal birth in which no one equals him, mighty ruler of the King’s treasures and foreign affairs has sent this letter with a pure heart and friendly affection by order of the divine, illustrious, unconquerable, mightiest, highest sovereign of a hundred and one crowns, the highest, purest and holiest of the immortals.

‘To the noble, generous, wise, severe Heer Anthoni van Diemen, Governor General of the possessions of the United Netherlands in India Orientalis, as

Your Honour is devoted to the royal Majesty with a pure heart and with devotion.

‘With the delegate Joost Schouten the golden missive and the gift of the Prince of Holland arrived here in Judia likewise Your Honour’s missive and gifts, also the letter addressed to me, the contents of which were announced and reported to my King. The delegate was soon granted an honourable audience with his Majesty, and the letters and the gifts of the Prince and of Your Honour were silently offered by him. His Majesty was pleased very much that Your Honour sent him with devoted affection the letter and the gifts of the Prince, a thing which will be of much profit for the Hollanders visiting and negotiating in the kingdom of Judia.

‘From the missive of Your Honour our King learnt with great pleasure the affection of Your Honour for his and my ancestors (*sic*) and the old friendship, honour and service for his Majesty. And notwithstanding that there has been no opportunity to prove the willingness completely to his Majesty, yet it was appreciated as if Your Honour’s willingness and affection had been proved completely, and His Majesty has therefore a great affection for Your Honour.

‘On the recommendation of Your Honour I have shown to Captain Schouten as much favour and help as was required of my office and as was reasonable and in my power.

‘In Your Honour’s letter was mentioned that some inhabitants of Batavia have sent hither some merchandise with two Siamese junks, which were captured by those of Patany, but the anachoda called Napit Ockun syey Sacon (!) declares himself ignorant of the fact that their junks returned with Batavian property. Therefore there is no reason why the Patanese should be ordered to restore. When Your Honour will send thither the owners, and when they can make good their claims, then the restitution will be ordered to those of Patany. Your Honour writes that in case of refusal and in default of restitution the hostilities against the Patanese will recommence at sea, a thing which is really not reasonable, and it is no firm friendship between the Kings of Siam and Holland and contrary to the pure affection of Your Honour towards His Majesty. On the contrary Your Honour’s good fame will increase with the neighbouring princes and nations when Your Honour will prevent hostile ways. This is to be kept in consideration, and a lawful procedure is advised to Your Honour.

‘At the request of the Captain Schouten, His Majesty has licensed the purchase and export of 200 coyan rice and 100 of paddy.

‘The King sends to the Prince of Holland a golden triple royal crown set with red and blue precious stones and with cat’s eyes in double rows of red and white stones.

‘To Your Honour His Majesty presents a gold crown set with the same sort of ornament and rubies, and 50 Siamese coyan paddy.

‘In the royal capital Judia, the first day of the waxing moon in the year of the rat, which is 28th November 1636.’

The political and commercial relations between Siam and Holland continued to run along lines normal to the period. The Dutch would be in or out of favour with the King consequent on differences of opinion and the attempts of one party to get the better of the other in trading transactions. The Prince of Orange and the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies continued to write to the King, who replied in a dilatory but courteous manner. Presents were exchanged as usual. The King and Okya Phra Khlang had suggested to the Dutch traders that good jewellery should be brought to Ayudhya for sale to the Court. These transactions were not fruitful of benefit to the Company but rather the otherwise as they led to much bickering and quarrelling over the price. The King had asked Joost Schouten to have a model of a Dutch warship complete in all detail made as a toy for one of his children and two paintings of elephants made also. Van Vliet presented these gifts to the King on the 29th October 1641, when he was received in audience for the purpose of presenting letters and gifts from the Prince of Orange and the Governor General. The paintings of the elephants did not please the King who, however, felt highly honoured by the attention paid him by the Prince of Orange. I append the reports dated 29th November and a few extracts from that of the 14th December 1641 below. These reports disclosed two interesting facts. One, that Van Vliet recognised that the continuance of direct correspondence between the King and the Prince of Orange was producing an atmosphere in Court circles of disrespect for the dignity of the Governor General and a consequent loss of prestige in Siamese eyes. Van Vliet suggested to his Government that the practice should cease or obstacles be put in the way of the despatch of letters. Two, it appears that the Company conceived the plan of bringing out to Ayudhya four young Dutch boys to be educated in Siam in order that they might gain a full knowledge of the language, customs, literature and arts. The plan was put into execution, and van Vliet brought four Dutch boys with him to Ayudhya. When the King heard of this he was much pleased and offered to bring up and educate the boys in the palace placing them in the Pages' Corps.

Van Vliet did not like the idea and therefore found some excuse for not gratifying the King's wish. It is possible that one of these boys died for in a later report only three are referred to. This attempt to educate young Dutch children in the Siamese fashion, for it would seem that they were placed with honest Siamese people, is proof of the determination of the Dutch to place their business on a permanent foundation. The report of the 29th November is as follows:

29 November – The vessel *de Snoek*, which had left Siam on the 24th of October, arrived with a cargo and with advice of the delegate Jeremias van Vlieth and of the merchant Reynier van Tzum.

The delegate Jeremias van Vlieth reports that on arriving on the 23rd of September at the Siamese river, he went himself immediately to the town of Judia, and informed the Berckelagh of his arrival bringing letters from His Highness the Prince of Orange and from the Heer Governor General of India, besides rare gifts. This was reported to the King, who was very pleased and who immediately ordered that the reception of His Highness' letter (engraved on gold after Siamese fashion) should take place with more splendour and pomp than ever had been shown to the letters of the King of China or of the Emperor of Japan. This was effected magnificently with many people, ships and great reverence to the princely letter (the same reverence as to the King himself). His Majesty had sent 20 small metal guns to the Company's compound, with which salutes were fired. The procession of 1200 armed soldiers and musicians was received in the palace, where the letter was opened and translated in the presence of many great personages and then the letter was immediately brought to the King. His Majesty was so pleased with it, that he declared he never had received a more agreeable missive and that he would cause it to be deposited, after the fashion of the Court, with the gold statues of the deceased kings and with the gold letters of the monarchs of China, Japan and Pegu.

The next day the letters of the Heer Governor General were taken with due honour from the factory and translated in the presence of many of the nobility; the King was pleased with the letters, but Berckelagh's orders*

**Note.* The orders of Phra Khlang referred to here relates to an agreement which van Vliet was compelled to sign by the Phra Khlang in September 1636 owing to the fear of the Siamese of the growing power of the Dutch. The document reads as follows:—

“On the 5th day of the waxing moon, named duen ji in the year of the rat, Oya Berckelagh has exacted from me, Jeremias van Vliet (chief of the Company's factory in Siam) by the sabander Olang Tsuijt Rajmontri this writing, in which I promise that every thing, which will be ordered or commanded, from this day forward, by order of the Berckelagh to me or the Hollanders residing in Siam, by the sabander or interpreter, will be obeyed as exactly as is in our power according to the laws and to the customs of the Kingdom, and that I (being the chief) will be kept responsible for the trespasses wherefore I pledge my own person.

“In Judia on the factory Siam, September 1636.”

remained in force although somewhat modified, as has been proved by the King's licence, which had just been obtained. The four Netherlands children, who had been sent for the study of the country's language, literature and arts, pleased the King very much. He offered to lodge them in the palace and to educate them in his service; the delegate had excused them, but anyhow he was ordered to bring them with him and to show them at the audience. The delegate's audience with the King had been postponed till after the end of ceremony of the hair-cutting of his Majesty's eldest son and through a mistake of the sabander was postponed till after the departure of the vessel *de Snoek*. But his Majesty had let the delegate know, that there was no doubt about his royal favour and that his kingdom would be open for the Netherlands and their trade. He had also ordered the Berckelagh to assist our people in their requests and to provide the delegate with letters to the rulers of Lygor, Sangora, Bordelough and Patany for his visit to the gulf of Siam. Also he consented to the purchase of 500 piculs sappanwood and that the payment might be postponed till the arrival of our vessels from Japan.

Neither the King nor the Berckelagh had been pleased by the gift which accompanied his Highness's letter or with the missive of the Hon. Heer General; so the gift had to be increased to keep his Majesty's favour and the Berckelagh's necessary assistance; the paintings of the elephants had not found favour either.

The jewels had pleased the king, especially that he might choose before the Atchinese king, but they had been valued by his obsequious jewellers without any cause far below their value, the Atchinese $\frac{2}{5}$ and the big diamond ring $\frac{1}{3}$ of cost-price, so there is apparently no chance of selling one of the jewels.

In the report dated 14th December 1641 van Vliet makes the following statements:

In Siam the letters of the Sire Prince of Orange meet with much success; however the delegate thinks it better to discontinue these letters as the respect in which the Governor General is held is decreased by them (to the detriment of the Company), and that therefore he has the intention to treat the matters in that way (if possible) that the letter of the King to His Highness of Orange will be neglected or the answer at least postponed for some years

The King has ordered that nobody, except Portuguese, may enter the Papist church or go to mass, upon pain of death.

It was rumoured abroad that the King had the intention to send again a commission to Japan, therefore a new junk from Taiya (Chaiya) or a vessel from Oya Lygor is expected.

In A. D. 1650 King Prasat Thong again showed great favour to the Dutch by sending a special mission to Batavia conveying a gold jewelled crown and twelve elephants for the Governor-General. This direct dealing with the Governor General and the presentation of such valuable gifts may be interpreted to mean that van Vliet's policy of compelling Siam to deal directly with the Governor General only had borne fruit.

King Prasat Thong died in August 1656, leaving Siam weaker than when he usurped the throne in 1629.

(4) THE PERIOD FROM A. D. 1656 TO 1767.

In 1656 King Chai, a son of King Prasat Thong, who succeeded his father, made an attempt to renew diplomatic relations with Japan. He sent a letter, by the hands of his ambassadors, to the Shogun of Japan, which letter was presented to the Governor of Nagasaki on the 9th July 1656. The vessel, conveying this mission, carried a cargo for sale. On its arrival at Nagasaki, the Shogun who was staying at Yedo was informed, but he refused to receive the mission or the gifts sent by the King. No Siamese was allowed to land although this privilege was granted to the Malay and Chinese members of the crew. Permission to sell the cargo was also refused, but the ship was allowed to sell just sufficient to provide the funds to purchase food, firewood and water for the return voyage. King Chai, in his letter, said that the report, conveyed to the Shogun that the Siamese had ill-treated the Japanese, murdered many of them and driven the remainder out of the country, was not true. He had an earnest desire to renew commercial relations with Japan, and begged the Shogun to allow Japanese traders to visit Siam as before. The Shogun refused, giving as his reason that by an Edict of 1636 Japanese nationals were not allowed to leave Japan.

In 1687 King Narayana commanded his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Okya Phra Khlang, to write to the Shogun requesting the latter to open trade relations with Siam as formerly, and suggested that the Siamese traders should be allowed a quota equivalent to that enjoyed by the Hollanders. In this letter the King praised the high quality of Japanese goods which were superior to anything produced in Siam, and went on to inform the Shogun that in 1685 and 1686 Siamese traders, who had gone to Japan, were not allowed to sell the

cargoes in their ships, but only permitted to sell sufficient to find the money to purchase the necessities of life for the return voyage as in the time of King Chai. We do not know what reply the Shogun made to this request. Trade, however, was carried on between the two countries by the Chinese and Hollanders without the participation of the Siamese. There are records to show that Siamese trading vessels visited Japan in 1693, 1716, 1718 and 1745. However, there is no evidence to prove that the friendly diplomatic relations which existed between 1606 and 1629 were renewed until 1887.

Many of the Kings of the Ayudhyan dynasty were men of great ability, in some cases even approximating to genius, but many were not. The frequent wars with Burma prevented any real economic development. Burma was the only powerful enemy of Siam, and these wars were continued with only occasional lulls from 1548 to 1824. Ayudhya was captured in 1564, and again in 1569, and Siam was brought under the domination of Burma, which lasted till 1590. The economic development of the country received a severe blow, for in these struggles many of the people lost their lives; and thousands of families were taken captives to Hongswadi. The country regained its freedom in 1590, and the Kings between that year and 1629 did all in their power to rehabilitate the trade of the country. King Narayana did more, perhaps, than any other of his predecessors to foster the political relations of Siam with foreign countries, turning to the West, now that Japan refused to accept his offer of friendship. This was but natural as trade always follows the course of political events.

King Narayana inherited from his father a kingdom weakened by internal disorders and an unsound economic policy. The Dutch were all powerful in matters of commerce and also on the sea, for in 1656 when King Narayana ascended the throne the English had not attained to that state of sea power in the East which they enjoyed in 1686. The disorders in the country continued but perhaps in a lesser degree. There were many uprisings. Constantine Phaulcon had become the Chief Minister of State, but it is doubtful whether his policy was the best for Siam. He seems to have used the policy of playing one power off against another to such a degree that Siam nearly lost its independence and he lost his life. Religious fanaticism was an important factor in the game. In 1661 the Dutch became

involved in a dispute with the King over the capture by the Dutch of a ship flying the Portuguese colours in the Gulf of Tongking. The cargoes on the ship belonged to the King, who claimed an indemnity for the loss sustained against the Dutch East India Company of Fl. 84,000. Troubles now surrounded the Dutch in Ayudhya which they believed were brought about by the machinations of Phaulcon who, in 1663 had gained the confidence of the King. The Dutch factory was besieged by armed Chinese, but the resident, Poolvoet, acting under instructions from the Governor General in Batavia, managed to escape with all his men and goods. If Phaulcon was responsible for bringing about this state of affairs then he showed a lack of political vision. Poolvoet on arrival at the estuary of the river proceeded to blockade the river. This action brought the King to his senses. Ambassadors were sent to Batavia and the Governor General appointed Commissary Pieter de Bitter to proceed to Ayudhya as the Dutch representative to effect a settlement. The settlement was most favourable to the Dutch and on the 22nd August 1664 a treaty was signed between Siam and Holland under which the Dutch gained many privileges including extra-territorial rights for the Company's residents. I give here a copy of this Treaty which, being the first of its kind signed by Siam, is of paramount historical importance.

First Treaty.

11 August O. S. (22 August N. S.) 1664.

Agreement and closer Alliance of Peace made and concluded between his Majesty the King of Siam on the one side and the Commissary Pieter de Bitter on the other, deputy of the Governor General Jan Maetsuijcker and Council of India ruling (in the name and on the behalf of the high and mighty States General of the United Netherlands) the State of the United East India Company in the East.

Firstly, it is agreed, concluded and determined, that from now onwards and henceforth a just, inviolable, secure, sincere alliance and friendship shall exist and be maintained between the King of Siam and the Netherlands Company, together with the subjects of both, and that from this day onwards such questions, differences and further disputes as have arisen between his Majesty's subjects and the Company shall be put out of mind and never more thought of, provided the King punishes and shall punish duly and as they deserve the authors of the affronts done to the Company.

Secondly, it is agreed that henceforth the Company shall enjoy in Siam, Ligor, Oetjangh, Salangh, and all other places and lands of the King, without exception, the peaceful, undisturbed exercise of trade in all such goods and merchandize as are to be found in each (place), without reservation of any nature whatever.

Item. That the Company shall have power to trade, deal and correspond with all and any persons that they choose, be they of high or low degree, without let or hindrance, either direct or indirect, from any person whatsoever.

Further it is agreed and determined, that neither now nor hereafter shall the Company be charged with nor have raised against them in any manner whatever, higher duties etc. on imported or exported goods and merchandize, be it in Siam, Ligor, Oetjangh, Salangh or anywhere else, but shall satisfy and pay all dues according to former customs, as has been stipulated and agreed in the statutory ordinance of the King.

Item. It is agreed that neither now nor hereafter shall his Majesty the King or his subjects, of whatever station they may be, have the power to place any Chinese, viz., the inhabitants of Japan, Canton, Cochin-China, Tonquin, on their junks, ships or smaller vessels, much less to endeavour to introduce men of that nation within their boundaries; that all junks and ships on which natives of that country shall be found, if met by ours at sea, shall be seized as prizes and the Company shall not be bound at any time to make any restitution.

Further, it is agreed and determined that the said Company shall for all time have the exportation of all the deerskins and cowhides which come to Siam, as also the retailing of all other merchandize from any other nation or of any kind, and his Majesty shall be bound by all means to maintain the Company in this privilege.

Moreover, if it should happen that any debtors refuse to make their payments to the Company, as has formerly happened frequently, his Majesty shall, through Oja Berckelang, the advocate of the foreigners, give his assistance, and those debtors he shall keep in strict confinement until the Company shall have received its own, and in case the Company fail to secure payment of just claims by these means, then the King or Oja Berckelang shall be bound to hand over said debtors to the Company.

In case (which God forbid) any of the Company's residents should commit a serious crime in Siam, the King and the judges shall not have the right to judge him, but he must be handed over to the Company's chief to be punished according to the Netherlands laws, and if it should happen that the said Chief was his accomplice in a capital offence, his Majesty is to have the power to keep them both confined in their own houses until he has sent word of the matter to the Governor General.

Further, it is agreed and determined, that in compensation for the capture of one of his Majesty's junks by the flyboat *de Roode Hart*, three years ago, near the islands of Maccauw, the Company shall pay to his Majesty as restitution a sum of 156 catties in Siam coinage or 18,720 guilders, his Majesty moreover to resign all claim formerly made to the property on account of the seizure of the said junk.

Item, it is agreed and determined that the Company shall restore and hand over to his Majesty such goods and merchandize belonging to the King as were recently taken from one of the same junks coming from Japan by the flyboat "Hoorghcarpsel", near the island of Poelewij.

Item, it is agreed and determined, that whenever it shall happen that his Majesty resolves to send a junk manned by Siamese to Japan, the Company shall be bound to deliver to the King 7,000 or 10,000 deer-skins (provided the supply of the same skins is large or average that year) at the price at which they were bought, on condition that his Majesty's factors, or some one else, shall undertake (not) to buy directly or indirectly any skins, still less to have them collected by others.

If it should happen at any time that his Majesty should determine to send envoys to Pachin (Pekin) to the great Cham, he shall have the right to send with his ambassadors two Canton Chinese, experienced in the Tartar tongue, that is to say, so long as the Company continues and remains in friendship with that Prince.

That the junks or ships, not only of his Majesty but also of his subjects manned by Siamese, shall have the right to voyage to Maccauw, Manila, Canton or other place so long as the Company is in friendship and alliance with those places, wherefore for the security of their voyaging passes or letters shall be given them.

That all junks and ships of the allied friends of the United East India Company, who come from other places and are designed for the Kingdom of Siam on the Company's ships shall not be let or hindered in the accomplishment of their voyage, provided that no native of a hostile nation be among them.

In case the Company's ships happen to meet at sea any junks manned by Siamese belonging to his Majesty the King or his subjects, they shall put no let or hindrance in the way of their voyage, but on the contrary shall show them all helpfulness (if they ask it) provided they are not going to a place with which the Company is at enmity and war. If at any time it should happen (which God forbid) that some of the Company's ships should through danger or other reason, be shipwrecked on or near lands subject to his Majesty and also if his Majesty's junks in like manner, should meet with the same misfortune near the Company's ports or districts, the subjects of the same at the place where this shall happen, must give a helping hand in saving the

goods and the people on board and also see to it that all such as it may concern should at the earliest convenience give up and surrender the salvaged goods and the former crew.

That the Company shall not have the right here in Siam to attack any ships or junks nor to commit any, even the smallest hostilities against them *

These prescribed points shall be maintained and followed, not only by the present King of Siam and the present Governor General Jan Maetsuijcker and the Council of India, but also by their respective successors and followers for ever and ever.

Done, agreed and decided thus in the city Judia in the Kingdom of Siam, on the 22nd August 1664, and sealed with the King's seal in red, having the figure of a Siamese angel or devil on it, and below with the Company's seal.

Second Treaty.

22nd August 1664. (N. S.)

11th August 1664. (O. S.)

TREATY

of Peace with the King of Siam.

There shall be perpetual peace between the Contracting parties, on condition that the King causes those who have molested the Company to be severely punished. The Dutch will be allowed a free trade throughout the Kingdom of Siam, on paying the established duties, but without being subject to any other restrictions.

His Highness will prohibit Chinese being employed on board of Junks trading to certain places specified in the original contract, and all junks of this description which shall be found to have any Chinese on board will be lawful prize to the Dutch cruisers.

The exportation of deer and cow skins is entirely ceded to the Company.

Respecting Company's debtors, the same practice will be adopted as heretofore established, &c.

The ill-conceived action of either the King or Phaulcon caused Siam to lose a portion of her political freedom which had only been regained in 1637. On the 14th November 1668, a clause was added to this treaty giving the Company the sole right to buy and export all the tin of the country with the exception only of such quantities as His Majesty would require for himself.

* The remainder of this passage is obscure. It deals with the attitude of the Dutch towards ships belonging to powers with which they were at enmity.

One would have thought that the King and his advisers would have been more careful after this incident in their dealings with foreigners. Phaulcon does not seem to have learnt his lesson for in 1686 Siam became seriously embroiled with the English East India Company. The English accused Phaulcon of committing acts of bad faith, molestation of the English in Siam, interference with their rights of trade and his failure to pay them their just debts. Many Englishmen were massacred in the country. The cumulative effect of all these acts brought Siam into hostility with England. A state of war was declared in 1686, and continued into the reign of King Narayana's successor. The loss to the King's ships and trade was serious. Phaulcon tried to counter-balance the power of the English by bringing in the French. The results of this policy are historical and were disastrous, for Siam passed through the throes of another revolution in which the economic development of the country was again brought to a halt.

In 1767 Ayudhya was captured and entirely destroyed by the Burmese. This blow was so severe that it took several decades of wise government to place Siam back on the road of economic development. What has taken place from the year 1781, which saw the establishment of the Bangkok Dynasty, is modern history, so I do not propose to touch on it.

PART EIGHT.

Concerning Titles in Siam.(1) A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
OFFICIAL HIERARCHY IN SIAM.

The Thai people have used titles of rank to distinguish the appointments held by officers of the State and other persons for many centuries. When the system first came into being one cannot say, for the earliest history of the Thai people—that is the time before they settled in Szechuan—has not been written; and very little is known about the Thai States in Szechuan and Yunnan. Such information as we have has been gained from the Chinese archives and from a great number of chronicles recording the establishment of many Thai Kingdoms.

Mr. Parker, in a valuable paper published in the *China Review*, gives us some information about the old Thai Empire of Nanchao which had its capital at Tali, situated on a lake known to the Thai people as Nong Sae (หนองสอ). The use of the name Tali or Taho (Great Happiness) for the capital of a Thai State is fairly common, varying only according to the dialects spoken. Mr. Parker tells us that in the archives of the After-Han period (A. D. 947-51) is found a description of the administration of the Nanchao Empire. If the Chinese records are to be trusted, the administration of Nanchao was based on a system of government not very different from that which existed in Siam till recent times. He says:

There were ministers to decide matters of State, governors, army officers, officers over the finances and the public works, even officers over horses, cows and granaries are mentioned; then come officers for levying and collecting taxes, for the management of secret business, and officers in charge of the palaces. The last were probably eunuchs, though this is not expressly stated. Land was parcelled out to officials and others according to their rank.

If land was parcelled out to officials and others according to their rank, we have an early example of the use of the *sakdina* system, which is the foundation on which the Siamese official hierarchy is built. I use the word *sakdina* in a general sense, as it is a convenient term for the purpose of this paper. The King and Princes of the Thai State of Nanchao were known as *Khun* (ขุน) and *Khun Luang* (ขุนหลวง) and this term is still used to some extent in the Northern Thai principalities.

During the Ayudhyan dynasty reigning Kings were known as *Khun Luang*, but it would seem that in the later years of this dynasty the title was used only for Kings who had passed away. We have examples in *Khun Luang Su'a* (ขุนหลวงเสือ), *Khun Luang Thai Sra* (ขุนหลวงท้ายสระ), *Khun Luang Boromkot* (ขุนหลวงบรมโกษฐ์), *Khun Luang Ha Wat* (ขุนหลวงหาวัด), and *Khun Luang Phrathinang Suriyamarin* (ขุนหลวงพระที่นั่งสุริยamarinทร์). This title was used for King Tak of Thonburi, who was frequently spoken of as *Khun Luang Tak*; after this period the term fell into disuse.

The Princes of the Thai people, who settled in Upper Burma in the early years of the Christian Era, were called *Sao*, or *Chao*, and this title was adopted by Burmese Kings and continued in use up to the reign of King Anawrahta, 1044-1077. The Burmese rendering of this word is *Saw*. The same word was used for a Prince by the Shans or Thai Yai from a quite early period, but the ruling Prince was known as *Sao Pha* (Burmese *Sawbwa*), in Siamese *Chao Fa*. The use of the word *Chao* for a Prince in Siam seems to date back to about the fourteenth century of the Christian Era. It is evident from the Sukhothai inscriptions that this term was also used in a slightly different form in the fourteenth century. The form is *Phraya Pha Kong* and *Pha Ngom*. The word *Phraya* is the equivalent of *Chao* (Prince) and *Pha* or *Fa* (Heaven). The Siamese probably took *Chao Fa* from the North. The Thai of the Shan State called the King of Burma, their suzerain, *Khun Ho Kham* (ขุนหอคำ), the equivalent in Siamese of *Phra Chao Prasat Thong* (พระเจ้าปราสาททอง). This word *Khun* is not now used for the King in Siam, although its use is still retained to represent the King in the game of chess which may be taken as evidence of the antiquity of that game. It is difficult to find out what titles were given to officers of State in the Nanchao kingdom. In the Shan States, although there are ministers and officials both civil and military, there is no system of titles as we know it in Siam. In Burma the officials received titles to indicate the nature of their functions, but they were not graded into different ranks such as *Phraya*, *Phra*, *Luang*, etc., as in Siam. A system similar to that in Burma appears to have been used in the Cholian kingdom of Southern India. During the Sukhothai period the King and Princes were known as *Khun* and also *Phò Khun* (พ่อขุน). Before

this State enlarged its frontiers, the Chief or Prince was known as *Khun*, but as Sukhothai conquered other Thai principalities the King assumed the title of *Phò Khun*, Father or Head of the Princes. The title Phra Rāma Khamhaeng was conferred on Khun Rāmarat by his father for an act of bravery which probably saved his father's life and Kingdom. When Phra Rāma Khamhaeng assumed the royal dignity he was known as *Phò Khun*. This, I think, is the first instance of the use of the title *Phra* in Siamese history and dates back to about 1238. It seems that after the death of *Phò Khun* Rāma Khamhaeng the title of *Phraya* (พญา) was substituted for that of *Phò Khun*. This term *Phraya* has since been used among the Thai to denote Kingship. There is no evidence to tell us what titles were conferred on officials during the Sukhothai dynasty.

On the establishment of the Ayudhyan dynasty in 1350 an official hierarchy was instituted and the officials were graded on a system simpler than that now in use. It is a curious fact that the Thai of Siam should have introduced an official hierarchy based on the *sakdina* system which was unknown to the Thai of the Shan States; this may be evidence that the Thai of the Shan States migrated from their original home prior to the consolidation of Thai power in Nanchao. If it is true that the officials of the kingdom of Nanchao were given rank based on a system of land tenure which is the fundamental principle of the *sakdina* system, then there may be some connection between the Thai of Siam and those of Nanchao. It is almost certain that the ruling class of this country and probably a large percentage of the commonfolk came from the North-East and East. In some of the northern principalities bordering the Mekhong river there are traces of an official hierarchy. The link connecting Nanchao with the Thai of Siam may be found here. Whether the Khmer derived their *sakdina* system from the Thai who migrated from Nanchao or developed it themselves is a matter for conjecture. As far as I know, the official hierarchy with graded titles as we know it in Siam was not used in India, and as Khmer culture was to some extent derived from India there is a possibility that the Khmer adopted the *sakdina* system from the Thai. According to Siamese history the title of *Khun Luang* (ขุนหลวง) to designate a Prince was still in use in territory near Ayudhya in 1347, for we are led to believe that Ramathibodi I married a sister of Khun

Luang Pha-ngua, a Prince of Suphan. Suphan became the capital of the old Thai State of U Thong which had been destroyed by floods. The old city U Thong is situated near Chorakhesamphan. There is reason to believe that the city of U Thong was of some antiquity as the site bears traces of having been built over several times. At what time Suphan became the capital we do not know. I hold to the belief that Ramathibodi, the first King of the Ayudhyan dynasty, was probably a scion of the old Royal House of Cambodia. It seems possible that a member of this family may have fled from Cambodia and settled in Siamese territory in the beginning of the fourteenth century, for something happened in Cambodia about this time which led to a new régime being established. As the tradition of Ramathibodi's connection with a gardener who became King is so persistent, it may be that he was descended from the melon gardener who became King of Cambodia. (cf. *The Royal History of Cambodia*, translated and published by the National Library, Bangkok, 1917, B. E. 2460). I do not think that Ramathibodi had any connection with Chiengsaen or U Thong except by marriage. King Ramathibodi I. was succeeded by his son, Phra Ramesuan, who after reigning for a few months handed the reins of government over to Khun Luang Pha-ngua of the U Thong family and retired to Lopburi. Khun Luang Pha-ngua was crowned as Phra Boromrachatirat I. He was succeeded by his son, Prince Thong Chan, who was murdered seven days after his father's death by Prince Ramesuan, who seized the throne. This Prince was succeeded by his son, Ramarachathirat. In the fifteenth year of this King's reign he was murdered by the Chief Minister of State, who invited Phra Nakhon In (พระนครศรีอินทร์) of Suphan, a grand-son of Khun Luang Pha-ngua, to ascend the throne. Thus a Prince of the U Thong family re-ascended the throne, and the House of Ramathibodi was extinguished.

The above is a rough sketch of my theory of the establishment of the House of U Thong in Ayudhya.

I have given the above brief outline of the lineage of the first Kings of the new Kingdom of Ayudhya, because I think that King Ramathibodi was not of pure Thai blood and therefore the system of government introduced by him was probably based on a foreign model. A new Kingdom required a new government and a body of officials to carry on that government. The new Kingdom does not

seem to have fallen under the cultural influence of Sukhothai. Judging from the Sukhothai inscriptions, an official hierarchy did not exist in that Kingdom. If this is true, the question arises as to where Ramathibodi I got his official hierarchy from, for three titles are mentioned in the history of this reign, namely, Phra Sri Swat, Khun Phinitchai and Phra Sri Mahosot. In the succeeding reigns prior to that of King Trailokanat other titles are mentioned. It is, therefore, possible that King Ramathibodi I, established an official hierarchy based on a system which had been used by his forefathers, or on a system already in use amongst the Thai principalities situated south of the Ping river. Burmese history of the reign of King Anawrahta of Pagan, 1044-77, tells us something of interest in connection with this matter. It says the boundary of the Kingdom of his time on the east from Pagan was the Pinka country. This country is that region lying in the upper watershed of the Ping river. Lying to the South-East of Pagan was the country of the Gyawns, also known as Arawsa. Arawsa is undoubtedly Ayocha (Ayudhya) and the Gyawns are descendants of the Thai Yuan who accompanied Prince Phromkuman of Yonoknakhon in his victorious war against the Khom when he came as far South as Khamphaengsaen. Their numbers were augmented by the Thai Yuan who accompanied King Chaisiri of Chaiprakan when he fled from his country. It would seem that an old state called Ayocha (Ayudhya) existed before the establishment of the new Ayudhya in 1350. I do not propose to discuss where the old city of Ayocha was situated. Burmese history tells us that the Thai Yuan of the old state of Ayocha attacked Pegu (Hongswadi), during the latter years of the reign of King Anawrahta. The Governor asked for the military assistance of Pagan, which was sent. The Thai Yuans were defeated under the walls of Pegu and their generals captured. The names of these generals are given as *Okphra* Ram, *Okphra* Re, *Okphra* Bun and *Okphra* Paik. This latter name is probably *Okphra* Phitsnu. As this event occurred about 1070, if Burmese history is to be trusted, then this is evidence that an official hierarchy existed in Siam as early as that date. The titles of those early days were founded on the honorific term or word *Ok*, which, I am convinced, is an old Thai word having the meaning of "excellent," "honourable", "noble", and "great". This word was probably adopted by the old Khom from the Thai of the North and is not a Cambodian word. I discuss this point in paragraph 3 of this Part.

According to Siamese history, King Trailokanat ascended the throne in the year of the Little Era 796 (A. D. 1434) and developed the system of government placing the official hierarchy on a legal basis. The Luang Prasert's manuscript does not uphold this date. I deal with this problem later on in this Part. It is recorded in the history of this reign that he granted names (titles) to officials on the basis of land, that is the *sakdina*. He gave the appointment of *Samuaphrakalāhom* (สมุหพระกลาโหม) to a soldier, the appointment of *Samuhanāyok* (สมุหนายก) to a civilian. He gave the official holding the office of Khun Mu'ceng the title of Phra Nakhonbān Mu'ceng (Minister of the Metropolis and Interior), Khun Wang the title of Phra Tharamathikon (Minister of the Household and Justice for the King himself was the source of justice), Khun Na the title of Phra Kasetra (Minister of Agriculture), Khun Khlang the title of Phra Kosathibodi (Minister of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Taxation). To each of these titles was attached a *sakdina* of 10,000 rai of land (4,000 acres). Thus we have two principal Ministers of State and four executive Ministers known as *Chatusudom* (จตุสดมภ์).

The *sakdina* attached to a title did not give the holder of such a title any right of possession in such land, but only gave the right of use as long as he was required by the King to carry out the duties pertaining to the title. The *sakdina* ranged from 100,000 rai in the case of a Prince who was *Maha Uparaj* down to 5 rai in the case of a *Phrai* or menial or soldier. As time passed the *sakdina* lost its original value, for land is no longer attached to a title.

Having established an official hierarchy based on a *sakdina* system, the area of land attached to a title became the basis on which criminal offences were settled; hence it became necessary to promulgate a law laying down the principle under which persons who had committed offences should be punished, thus the *Kromasak* law came into being. The provisions of this law are most complicated and obscure and almost unintelligible to any one not conversant with the *sakdina* system. This will be evident when I say that the law itself as published by Prince Rajaburi contains twenty-eight clauses occupying forty pages of print, whereas a note explaining the principle underlying the law and the method of computing the punishment to be awarded to any offender prepared by Luang Thamasaṭ (หลวงธรรมสาธิต), in a rhythmic form for the purpose of easy memorising, covers ninety-

two pages of print. H. E. Chao Phya Mahidhorn (เจ้าพระยามหิธร) has most kindly sent me a note explaining briefly the meaning of the law and how it was applied. This learned authority says that in the first place it is essential to have some understanding of the punishments meted out to offenders under the ancient laws. These were *phinai* (พินัย), a fine the whole amount of which was paid to the King or State; *sinmai* (สินไหม), a fine the whole amount of which was paid to the person offended against or his heirs; half *pinai* and half *sinmai*, a fine the proceeds of which were paid in equal parts to the King and the person offended against. All offences were governed as regards punishment by the laws applicable to each offence.

As regards the amount of the fine to be imposed on any person it was necessary to know the legal price of each such person, man or woman, which price was laid down in the law according to the rank, sex, age and class. According to this system a male (not a service-man) attained to his prime and highest value at the age of forty. His price, which at the age of one month was six *bahts*, increased progressively to fourteen *tamlu'ngs* (fifty-six *bahts*) at his prime, after which the value of a man dropped till between the ages of ninety-one and one hundred years he was only worth one *tamlu'ng* or four *bahts*. The price of a female between the ages of one month and three months was four *bahts*. The price increased progressively till she was worth ten *tamlu'ngs* or forty *bahts* on attaining the age of thirty years, which was her prime. After this her price decreased to three *bahts* between the ages of ninety-one and one hundred years. This rate of fine applied to the most serious of offences, that of murder. Less serious offences were punished by a lighter fine. One understands from this system that capital punishment was not inflicted for murder, although it seems that capital punishment was inflicted for offences against the person of the King, against the State, for cowardice etc. in time of war and for certain breaches of the Palace Code.

In addition to the above mentioned principle, many other factors had to be considered in trying a case such as whether the hand, a stick or a metal weapon was used in inflicting the injuries, and whether the injuries were slight or severe. The place at which the offence was committed, as well as whether the complainant and defendant were related, had also to be considered. In cases in which persons related to each other were concerned, if the injuries were merely bruises the punishment was lighter than in a case of persons

not related. If open wounds were inflicted there was no reduction in the punishment. I find on reading the law that the value of servicemen (ไพร่พล) was different to that of ordinary persons. The value of a serviceman was governed by the Group, or *Krom*, to which he belonged. The highest value was one hundred and four *bahts* and the lowest fifty-six *bahts*. Beyond this the principle of punishment was the same as mentioned above. Furthermore all punishments to be imposed on any offender were always governed by the highest price of the body and the highest *sakdina* of the person concerned in the case. All cases in which bodily injury was inflicted were punished according to the principles laid down in the *Kromasak* law which had to be calculated or computed according to a most complicated system. Luang Thamaset has prepared a ready reckoner in order to help the judges to know the fine applicable to each kind of offence and class of offender. Offences against property were not judged under the *Kromasak* law but came under the law known as *Laksanu Betset*. Chao Phya Mahidhorn also tells me that the *Kromasak* law was used to punish officials who committed offences connected with their duties. In order to arrive at an understanding of the amount of the fine to be imposed on an official it was necessary to know his *sakdina*, the offence he had committed and the system of computation. The official entrusted by the King or any Minister to ascertain the amount of the fine having computed the basic unit of fine according to the *sakdina* for the purpose of imposing the fine, it simply rested with the King or Minister to decide whether the official should be fined one unit or more. Four units were the maximum fine. The basic unit was known as the *la* (๑๐). During my long experience in Government service, I have seen many officials fined under this system. In fact until the King granted the Constitution, this system was used in the Palace and other Departments and also to punish officials who failed to attend the King's audience. The unit of fine or *la* for the punishment of a *phrai* or menial with a *sakdina* of five rai was twenty *bahts*, which meant that if he was to be punished by a fine of four units, the fine would be eighty *bahts*. In the case of an official like myself with a *sakdina* of 2,400 rai, the unit of fine or *la* would be ninety two *bahts* and a fine of four *la* would amount to three hundred and sixty-eight *bahts*. Officials felt deeply the dishonour which attached to their titles when they were punished in this way. H. R. H. Prince Damrong Raja-

nubhab, whom I have consulted, says that the last system of fine is mentioned in the *Kot Monthienban* (Regulations governing the Royal Household or Palace Code.). Prince Damrong has drawn my attention to a portion of the *Kromasak* law which lays down that, in accord with the principles of the ancient *Mano Thamasat*, offences are grouped under three categories: one, Mental Offences or evil thoughts; two, Vocal Offences or evil speech; three, Bodily Offences or evil acts committed by using force. As all offences arise from evil thought it seems that a basic formula was laid down for mental offences and that vocal offences and bodily offences were calculated according to a formula connected with this basic principle. Although it is not clear, it is probable that the formula laid down here was used for the purpose of computing the punishment to be imposed on officials holding a *sakdina* rank other than servicemen (ไพร่พล).

With the reorganisation of the Courts of Justice about the year 1896 and the promulgation of laws based on modern principles, the provisions of the *Kromasak* law fell into disuse.

In a country where surnames did not exist, it is easy to understand the necessity for providing a name to distinguish an official holding a certain appointment. Many of these names are derived from Indian history and mythology. A name having been prescribed for an official to denote his duties, it did not take long for the officials and the people to know the department to which such an officer belonged and the nature of his duties. For these reasons the system must be praised for it overcame many difficulties. In the Sixth Reign of the Chakri dynasty a system of surnames was introduced, and in the Seventh Reign many officials were given titles according to their surnames. By this practice the main principle of the system was destroyed, for it was then no longer possible to know to what department any official belonged; the system of granting titles under the old principles seems to have disappeared.

(2) WHEN WAS THE SAKDINA SYSTEM PUT ON A LEGAL BASIS?

I have stated in Paragraph 1 that if the Chinese archives of the After-Han period (A. D. 947-51) are to be trusted, an official hierarchy existed in the ancient Thai Kingdom of Nanchao which was based on a certain tenure of land. This seems to approximate to what we now call the *sakdina* system or land attached to a title. I have

suggested that this system may have been carried by the Thai people when they migrated along the valley of the Mekhong and that the Khmer got the *sakdina* system from them. The *sakdina* appears to have been used in Siam for the first time by Ramathibodi, the first King of the Ayudhyan dynasty. We have a definite date, 1350. The *sakdina* system is referred to in Siamese history in the reign of King Trailokanat, who is said to have made appointments under this system. The record of the reign of Ramathibodi I mentioned three titles: Phra Sriswat, Khun Phinitchai and Phra Sri Mahosot; and that of Ramesuan mentioned the title Phya Chainarong. Chao Phya Mahasena is mentioned in the reign of Rama Rachathirat. As these Kings reigned before King Trailokanat, then titles existed in Siam from 1350.

The record of the reign of King Trailokanat states that he conferred names on officials, prescribed their duties and the area of land for each title. (For details see paragraph 1).

King Phra Phutthayodfa came to the throne in 1782 and carried on the work of consolidating Thai power in Siam, which had been commenced by King Tak (Sin) of Thonburi. When the capital, Ayudhya, was occupied by the Burmese in 1767 they committed such acts of vandalism that practically nothing was left. The monasteries and pagodas even were destroyed. The archives were burnt, many officials were put to death and many others of the highest rank were deported to Burma as captives of war. There were few left who had any knowledge of the history and laws of the kingdom. We know that it was impossible to find any law or record relating to the ceremony of coronation, and the ceremony had to be performed in a manner which it was believed approximated to the traditional rites. This process of destruction extended throughout most of the territories of the kingdom. It is easy to understand when destruction was carried out on such a vast scale, that nothing of a perishable nature as archives, laws, records, or histories could have escaped. King Phra Phutthayodfa appointed Royal Commissions to attempt to rehabilitate the laws and history of the country. It is possible that fragments of documents and even whole documents relating to these two matters may have been found and examined by these Royal Commissions. Siamese history as we know it, even the Royal or Autograph version, is full of errors. The dates given for the accessions and deaths of the Kings and the length of their reigns are mostly incorrect. Many

events of importance are not mentioned. We know this from the writings of foreigners who lived in the country and were eye-witnesses of the events they wrote about, and from official documents preserved in foreign countries. The version of history I mention was apparently examined by competent authorities such as King Phra Nang Klao and King Mongkut. It is noteworthy that the calendar used is that of the Chulasakarat or Little Era. This history commences in the year of the Little Era 712 (A. D. 1350). It is doubtful whether this era was used in Siam till A. D. 1569. Prince Damrong is inclined to think that the calendar of the Little Era was brought to Siam by the first conqueror of Ayudhya, and became the official calendar from the date of the accession of Phra Mahathammaracha, L. E. 931 (A. D. 1569). It should be mentioned here that the calendar of the Little Era was used in the latter portion of the Sukhothai period. If Prince Damrong is right, and I think he is, then the use of the Little Era prior to that year is evidence of the history having been rewritten, and rewritten several centuries later. It is almost certain that the Maha Sakarat or Great Era which was used in Sukhothai continued to be used in Ayudhya till at least A. D. 1569 and even later. There is reason to believe that the use of the Little Era fell into disfavour, and to some extent was changed to the Buddhist Era in the reign of King Narayana. I have mentioned these facts because a reference to the old laws resuscitated in the reign of Phra Phutthayodfa becomes necessary. These old laws have been published from time to time and I propose to use the edition issued under the authority of that great jurist, Prince Rajaburi, in 1901, known as *Kotmai Rajaburi*.

We find a collection of Laws relating to the *sakdina* of the members of the Royal family and some of the female officials of the palace as well as Civil and Military Officers.

The first of these Laws commences with a preamble and has a heading *Na Pholaru'oen* (นพพลเรือน). The whole comprises twenty-eight clauses. This Law is followed by a List of Provincial Military Officers without a preamble running from Clause 1 to 29. Clause 30 is the preamble to what appears to be a second Law prescribing that titles be conferred on Provincial Administrative Officers and the status of the provinces, and Clause 31 gives the titles of the officers and the status of each province. These laws or collection of fragments of laws contain two preambles. The first tells us that Chao Phya Tharamathibodi Sri Ratanamontienban petitioned H. M. King

Trailokanat on the subject of the status and rank of members of the Royal Family and female officials of the Palace craving for His Majesty's ruling in order to put this matter on a definite basis. The King gave his decision and the Law was promulgated in 1298. This must be a year of the Great Era and would synchronise with A. D. 1376 (L. E. 738). It is most significant that the preamble to this Law should refer to the King's decision regarding the status of members of the Royal House and female officials of the palace only. This question is completely settled in the first five clauses, in fact the latter part of Clause 5 lays down the *sakdina* of the *Chao Krom*, and *Palat Krom* attached to Princes of *Krom* rank and other palace male officials. Clause 6 refers to Chamu'n and other palace officials. This causes me to believe that this Law in its original form only contains five clauses and was, in reality, the genesis or beginning of the *Kot Montienban*. If, however, one compares the language used in this Law with that used in later *Kot Montienban* a suspicion arises in one's mind as to when this Law was really written.

Clauses 7 to 28 refer to the status and titles of Civil Officers in the Capital. The status of these officers has no connection with the Royal Family and the female palace officials which form the personal entourage of the King and his children. This List of Civil Officers has, I think, been joined to the Law under discussion by the Royal Commissioners appointed by King Phra Phutthayodfa. This List contains many titles which certainly did not exist in Siam prior to A. D. 1569 or L. E. 931. The titles of officials connected with the activities of the Dutch, the English and the French must be interpolations, for persons of these nationalities did not come to Siam till the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is curious that officials having to do with Portuguese and Castilians are not mentioned at all, although we know that these people were in Siam prior to the other three nationalities mentioned. At the time of the examination of the old laws in 1805 the Portuguese and Spaniards had lost all power in the East, and it did not enter the minds of the Royal Commissioners that in the early days there must have been officials such as interpreters, etc., who had to deal with these people. I am convinced that an exhaustive examination of the List would prove that the Royal Commissioners did their work badly, and were swayed by their knowledge of the titles which existed when they did their work. There is another fact which must be considered. In Clause 8, which

lays down the office of Chakri, will be found a curious insertion which requires some explanation. The insertion runs:

On Friday the ninth waning of the seventh month in the year of the Cock being the eighth year of the denary cycle Phra Sri Mahosot received the Royal Command to place the status of swift footed couriers in the Krom Mahathai on an official basis.

Then follows a list of the titles and the land attached to them. One naturally asks why Phra Sri Mahosot should have received the Royal Commands in this matter, he being one of the Court Physicians and not connected with the Krom Mahathai. It will be noticed that the year is not given which is suspicious and, furthermore, the term รัชพรรษาโอการใส่เกล้าใส่กระหม่อม was, I think, not used in the early days of the Ayudhyan dynasty. One cannot but surmise that the Royal Commissioners, having before them a fragment of a document with these words on it and not knowing where it came from, inserted it in the clause referring to the Chief Minister in charge of the Civil Service. This title Phra Sri Mahosot cannot be the title Mahosot Sri Phiphat which was only created twenty years ago.

The List of the Provincial Military Officers does not commence with a preamble and contains many interpolations.

Clause 11 lays down the title Phra Phiphitdecha, Chief of the Training Section of the army on European models. One doubts whether this office existed prior to A. D. 1569 (L. E. 931) although we know that Portuguese adventurers did follow in the military train of the Kings.

Clause 22, which refers to the Ten Departments of Artificers (ช่างสิบหมู่), seems to be in the wrong place and should, I think, have been included in the list of Civil Officials in the palace.

Clauses 23 to 29 contain matters entirely extraneous to provincial military appointments.

Clause 24 lays down the *sakdina* of officials who have been retired from the Government Service.

Clause 25 lays down a special *sakdina* for officials of the rank of Phra down, holding appointments in the Capital who were sent to the provinces on duties.

Clause 26 lays down the *sakdina* of the four classes of wives of officials.

Clause 27 is most curious for although the clause is numbered 27 the actual article commences with the word "Section One"

(มาตราหนึ่ง) and is complete in this one Section. This clause refers to the *sakdina* of novitiates (สามเณร), priests (ภิกษุและพระครู), brahmans, and members of the laity (ตาปะขาว) conforming to the rules of religious discipline. The *sakdina* is different according to whether these persons possess or do not possess a knowledge of the Law of their religion.

Clause 28 commences with the word "Section one" (มาตราหนึ่ง). This clause is somewhat obscure, but appears to refer to the status of persons related to officials of *sakdina* rank.

Clause 29 lays down the method of computing the *sakdina* of officials of the Palace Department (กรมพระราชวัง) [*i. e.*, the กรมพระราชวังบวร or Second King's establishment, Ed.], basing it on the *sakdina* of officials of the Royal Palace (พระราชวังหลวง).

Clause 23 seems to be an insertion similar to the insertion in clause 8 of the List of Civil Officials. It reads as follows: Khun Chakrawachinda (ขุนจักรหวัดจินดา) petitioned the King, craving His Majesty to define the *na* or land to be attached to a number of appointments. The King gave his ruling on this question and the area of *na* or land for each officer is stated in this clause. The list covers a large range of officers none of whom seem to have any connection with the army. It is significant that the title of the officials who petitioned the King is not to be found in any list of the official hierarchy in my possession.

Clause 30 of this List of Provincial Military Officers is in reality the preamble of a separate law fixing the *sakdina* of administrative officials of the provinces, both north and south, according to the status of each province which is also fixed. There were four classes of provinces, First, Second, Third and Fourth—a First Class provinces being the most important.

Clause 31 gives a long list of officers, their titles and *na* or land as well as the class of the province.

The preamble given in Clause 30 is similar to the preamble to the law fixing the status and rank of members of the Royal Family and some female officials of the palace, except that the style of the King Boromtrailokamat differs in form.

The reader will now understand the almost unfathomable confusion into which these Laws have fallen. The Royal Commission must have had some documentary evidence before it of such a fragmentary nature that it did not know how to piece it together. This fact

together with the many signs of interpolation and tampering renders these Laws in their present form quite unreliable. Their only value is that we are given a list of titles. These titles may have been and were probably created from time to time as the service of the State demanded. It does not help us to know what titles existed in the early days of the Ayudhyan dynasty and when additions were made. Without an examination of the actual documents and evidence which came before the Royal Commission it is impossible for any one to say what is based on actual fact and what was added by the Royal Commission itself. Three main facts stand out (1) Chao Phya Tharamathibodi, etc., Phra Srimahosot and Khun Chakrawadchinda received the Royal instructions regarding the fixing of the *sakdina* for officials and others; (2) the two preambles mention King Trailokanat as the law-giver, but differ as regards the Royal style. In the first preamble the style is *Boromtrailoknayoktilok phu pen chao* and in the other *Phra Ramathibodisriboromtrailokanat*; (3) the same year 1298 is given in both preambles.

It will be noticed in both preambles that the Minister of the Palace, who approached the King, is Chao Phya Tharamathibodi Sri Ratanamonthienban. This is evidence that the old title of Khun Wang had been changed to Tharamathibodi and not Tharamathikon as mentioned in Siamese history. (Reign Trailokanat). The latter title is quite modern and was, I believe, created by King Mongkut, for an official named Su'a Sonthirat (เสือสนธิรัตน์). It is significant that the new form is not mentioned in the Laws I am discussing. The other titles given in Siamese history for the three remaining Chatusadom Ministers also bear traces of modernity. These are examples of tampering with history. The next point is the year 1298 which has a significance bearing on the King, who promulgated these Laws. The year 1298 of the Great Era synchronises with the year 738 of the Little Era or 1376 of the Christian Era. Siamese history tells us that King Trailokanat ascended the throne in L. E. 796 (A. D. 1434), and that he reigned for sixteen years. These dates do not agree.

In the year B. E. 2450 (A. D. 1907) Luang Prasert Aksoranit gave to the National Library a manuscript written in the characters used during the Ayudhyan period purporting to be historical notes from the year of the Little Era 686 to 966. This manuscript relates that its details were prepared under the command of King Narayana in

L. E. 1042 (A. D. 1680). It is fortunate that another copy came into the possession of the National Library, Bangkok, six years later which had been prepared for King Tak (Sin) of Thonburi. The written characters are different but the contents are the same. If one compares the dates given in this manuscript with those recorded in Siamese history it will be found that they do not agree. Furthermore, some of the events recorded do not appear in Siamese history, and it is significant that no mention is made of King Trailokanat having established, revised or changed the *sakdina* status of officials. The authenticity of this manuscript can not be doubted, and that it was prepared in the reign of King Narayana is supported by a stone inscription set up by that monarch in B. E. 2223 (L. E. 1043) at Chulamani Temple near Phitsnulok. This stone inscription relates that the Temple Chulamani was built by King Trailokanat in L. E. 826 and that in the following year the royal builder was ordained as a Buddhist priest and took up residence in this monastery. He remained in the priesthood for eight months and fifteen days. His son and Ministers of State begged the royal monk to leave the priesthood in order to assist in governing the country. The words used are ขอบัญเชิญพระองค์เสด็จลาผนวชช่วยครองราชธุระมณฑลปว. The royal monk consented, left the priesthood and returned to the Capital, Sri Ayudhya. In the year L. E. 1042 King Narayana commanded that a replica of the footprint of the Buddha on the hill known as Suwanbanphot (สุวรรณบรรพต) be made and sent to Chulamani Temple so that those who were unable to make the journey to the holy hill might be able to worship the footprint. This replica of the footprint and the stone inscription were set up in the Temple Chulamani in L. E. 1043. A record of the events mentioned here was prepared and after examination by the King this record was sealed with a seal depicting a man holding a book (มนุษย์ถือสมุด) which is the official seal of the Registrar of Archives, and Servicemen (สนุทพระสุรัสวดี). This stone inscription was set up some two hundred and sixteen years after King Trailokanat built Chulamani Temple, and entered the priesthood. The dates for these events given in the Luang Prasert's manuscript are the same.

An examination of the Luang Prasert's manuscript proves that the date given for the fall of Ayudhya, L. E. 931, the accession of Somdet Phra Mahathamaracha, L. E. 931, and the marching of the expedition

under King Naresuan against Ava, L. E. 966, are correct for they agree with the information which we now have in our possession. The dates in Siamese history are different. As the Luang Prasert's manuscript is correct about these three important dates, it is but reasonable to assume that other dates given in the manuscript are also correct. The following table is of interest :

No.	Royal Version		Luang Prasert	
	Name of Kings	Date : Little Era	Name of Kings	Date : Little Era
1	Ramathibodi I.	712-731	Ramathibodi I.	712-731
2	Ramesuan (First time)	731-732	Ramesuan (First time)	731-732
3	Boromrachathirat I.	732-744	Boromrachathirat I.	732-750
4	Thongchan	744 (15 days)	Thonglan	750 (7 days)
5	Ramesuan (Second time)	744-749	Ramesuan (Second time)	750-757
6	Ramrachathirat	749-763	Phya Ram	757-771
7	Intharacha I.	763-780	Intharacha I.	771-786
8	Boromrachathirat II.	780-796	Boromrachathirat II.	786-810
9	Trailokanat	796-811	Trailokanat	810-826
10	Intharacha II.	811-835	Boromracha	826-853
11	Ramathibodi II.	835-871	Ramathibodi II.	853-891
12	Boromrachamaha phut-thangkun	871-875	Boromrachamaha phut-thangkun	891-895

As we are concerned with the reign of King Trailokanat only, because the Laws prescribing titles and ranks I have referred to above are supposed to have been promulgated by him, I will confine the discussion to the dates given for this reign in Siamese history and the Luang Prasert's manuscript. Siamese history places on record that this King ascended the throne in L. E. 796 and died in L. E. 811. The Luang Prasert's manuscript tells us that this King ascended the throne in L. E. 810, and that in L. E. 825 he went to Phitsnulok still vested with the royal authority. King Trailokanat commanded that the King should rule the country in Ayudhya. King Trailokanat apparently abdicated in L. E. 826 and entered the priesthood in L. E. 827. This gives his reign a length of sixteen years, which agrees with

Siamese history. He was succeeded by his son, Phra Boromracha, in L. E. 826 though this Prince seems to have wielded royal authority in Ayudhya from L. E. 825, and it was this son who begged his father to leave the priesthood, return to Ayudhya and assist him in governing the country (*vide* the Chulamani inscription of King Narayana). There are many examples of Kings abdicating but still retaining a controlling influence in the government. This was always the case in the early days of the Tokugawa Shogunate, in Japan. As Ayudhya was in the grips of a death struggle with King Maha Sri Suthantilokarat of Chiengmai (the Maharat or Thao Lok of the manuscript), it was dangerous to leave the King monk in Chulamani Temple, and his son lacking experience required the riper understanding of affairs of his father to help him. If one reads the last lines of this manuscript referring to the death of King Trailokanat, which took place in L. E. 850, it will be noticed that he was not succeeded on the throne by any King. This is but natural, as his son, Somdet Phra Boromracha, was the reigning sovereign and continued to reign till L. E. 853, when he died and was succeeded by his son, Ramathibodi II. H. R. H. Prince Damrong in his Notes explaining the Ayudhyan dynasty, published as Part 5 of *A Collection of Historical Data*, states that King Trailokanat reigned from L. E. 810 to L. E. 850, a period of forty years and that the confusion in Siamese history is due to his using both Ayudhya and Phitsnulok as his capitals. My understanding of the Luang Prasert's manuscript does not bear out the statement of this learned authority. The *Chiengmai Chronicle* gives us some evidence to support the dates in the manuscript. This *Chronicle* says that King Trailokanat entered the priesthood in Ayudhya but does not give us a date. As, however, it admits, that this event took place after L. E. 822 it may be that the ceremony of ordination took place in L. E. 823 or 824.

Thus we have three statements regarding the time when King Trailokanat was on the throne. Siamese history L. E. 796 to 811, the Luang Prasert's manuscript L. E. 810 to 826, and the *Chiengmai Chronicle* to a great extent agreeing with the manuscript. We must now make an attempt, after an analysis of the evidence before us, to ascertain who promulgated the Laws we are discussing, and the year in which the Laws were promulgated.

As I accept the Luang Prasert's manuscript as correct, it is evident that King Trailokanat was on the throne between the years L. E. 810

and 826, which years synchronise with the year 1370 to 1386 of the Great Era. Such being the case, how could King Trailokanat have promulgated these Laws in the year 1298? H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab tries to overcome the difficulty by changing the year 1298 of the Great Era to 1998 of the Buddhist Era. Now 1998 of the Buddhist Era synchronises with the year of the L. E. 817, and therefore, by this transformation, the Prince brings these Laws within the reign of King Trailokanat.

My understanding of the evidence is that the rebuilders of Siamese history had some documentary evidence or tradition before them which led them to believe that King Trailokanat had revised the official hierarchy, and they inserted in Siamese history the sentence I have already mentioned in the paragraph referring to the changes in the titles and status of the Ministers. On the other hand the Royal Commission appointed for the purpose of rehabilitating the laws of the country came across fragments of evidence to show that a law dealing with the questions of the status of members of the Royal Family had been promulgated in the year 1298 of the Great Era and other fragments relating to the official hierarchy, civil, military and ecclesiastical. Some of these fragments may have borne the name of King Trailokanat, and others the date 1298. The process is now simple. The Royal Commissioners, probably, entered the name of King Trailokanat in the preamble of the Law relating to the members of the Royal Family. I am inclined to think that the Law referring to the status of the members of the Royal Family and some of the female officials of the palace (Clauses 1 to 5) was promulgated by King Phra Boromrachathirat I in the year 1298 of the Great Era (L. E. 738). King Phra Boromrachathirat I was on the throne in the year L. E. 738 and, as the dynasty had only been established twenty-six years before, it is but natural that this King should define the *sakdina* of the members of the new Royal House and the female entourage. I cannot believe that the Kings should have allowed nearly one hundred years to pass before defining the *sakdina* of the Royal House. Furthermore, now that the dynasty had been established and the central and southern provinces brought under its sway, it became necessary for this same King to define the *sakdina* of some of the civil officials in the Capital and some of the provincial military officers. These lists must have been amended and added to by later Kings as the increasing requirements of the service

demand, hence the numerous interpolations and the resulting confusion. It is probable that the lists of the civil and military hierarchy were originally promulgated as separate laws, but that the preambles have been lost, all that remained being the petition of Phra Sri Mahosot and Khun Chakrawatchinda.

The Law referring to the titles of Provincial Administrative Officers, their titles, and the status of the provinces may have been promulgated by King Trailokanat, because it was only just prior to his reign that the northern provinces had been brought under the domination of the new dynasty and included in the Kingdom as an integral part thereof. The Royal Commissioners apparently retained the same year 1298 without considering its implications.

The ancient criminal jurisprudence of some parts of the East provided for the punishment of offenders based on the age of the persons offended against and the value of the body of such persons, which value was fixed according to age and sex. With the introduction of the *sakdina* system a new element came into being and had to be considered when deciding criminal cases. A *Kromasak* Law was, therefore, drafted and brought into force. The *Kromasak* Law which has come down to us is one which the preamble tells us was promulgated by King Ekathosrot in the year L. E. 955, the year of the Cock. Siamese history records that King Ekathosrot ascended the throne in L. E. 955, year of the Little Serpent. One can, therefore, excuse the Royal Commission for putting this date in the preamble if they have evidence to prove that the Law was promulgated by King Ekathosrot, but one cannot forgive the Royal Commission for stating that this year was the year of the Cock. The year L. E. 955 was the year of the Little Serpent. Research work has brought to light the fact that King Ekathosrot ascended the throne in L. E. 967, year of the Little Serpent (A. D. 1605), not L. E. 955. The Royal Commission probably did not know this, although they may have had a copy of the Luang Prasert's manuscript before them, as a copy of this manuscript had been made a few years before in the reign of King Tak. This manuscript must have been well known to scholars of those days. A reference to it would have shown the Commissioners that King Naresuan was still on the throne in the year L. E. 966.

Phya Prachakitkorachak (พระยาประจักษ์กมลจักร์), in his work *Phong-sawadan Yonok* (History of Yonok), discusses the question of the dates given in some of the ancient laws for the promulgation of such

laws and the names of the Kings. He produces evidence to prove that in the preamble of a law said to have been promulgated in the reign of King Prasat Thong, this King is called *Ekathosrot*, and attempts to prove this by pointing out that the palace in which the King promulgated the law was built in the reign of King Prasat Thong. Another law was promulgated in the reign of King Narayana. The preamble called the King *Ekathosrot*, but as this is qualified by the word *King Narayana* there can be no question about the promulgator of this law. There are several other instances of the words *Ekathosrot* appearing in the preambles of other laws.

A question now arises as to whether the Royal Commissioners inserted the title *Ekathosrot* themselves or not. If they did, as seems likely, for these two Kings are not given this title in Siamese history nor does this style appear on the Chulamani inscription actually written by King Narayana himself. In this inscription the King gives his full title and these words do not appear.

H. R. H. Prince Damrong, knowing that King *Ekathosrot* was not on the throne in L. E. 955, may have been influenced by this fact, and changed the year from L. E. 955 to L. E. 995 so that it falls within the reign of King Prasat Thong. Whether the Prince was also influenced by the fact that L. E. 995 was the year of the Cock is not evident because he does not use this argument.

I am inclined to think that the Law was promulgated by King *Ekathosrot*, the brother of King Naresuan, and that the Royal Commissioners inserted the year L. E. 955 themselves, as history told them that this King ascended the throne in that year.

The whole question of the Laws relating to the *sakdina* and the *Kromasak* as well as the dates given in history is in such a state of confusion that it seems hardly worth while trying to clarify it. I have given my understanding of this matter because it has a bearing on the titles and rank of officers mentioned by van Vliet which are not in accord with statements in Siamese history. I deal with this question in paragraph 3.

(3) CONCERNING THE RANK OF MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY AND THE NOBILITY.

In the previous paragraph I have made an attempt to unravel the confusion in which the laws relating to the *sakdina* have fallen. I hold that the first of these laws ascribed to King Trailokanat relating

to the rank and status of members of the Royal Family and some female officials of the Palace was promulgated by King Phra Borom-rachathirat I. in the year of the Great Era 1298, which synchronises with the year of the Little Era 738 (A. D. 1376), and that this law comprised five clauses only. In this law provisions are made for giving members of the Royal House a *sakdina* according to their birth status. The rank of the members of the Royal Family is to some extent graded according to the status of the mother. A full brother of the King and a son by the chief Queen were qualified by the prefix Somdet. Princes of this rank had on birth a *sakdina* of 20,000 rai and 15,000 rai respectively which on promotion to the rank of *Krom* or *Nai Krom* was increased to 50,000 rai and 40,000 rai respectively. If Princes of this rank were appointed to the high position of Maha Uparaj or Second King, the *sakdina* was increased to 100,000 rai. A brother of the King other than a full brother only had a *sakdina* of 7,000 rai which was increased to 15,000 rai on promotion to the rank of *Krom*. A son of the King by a mother other than the Queen and a grandson, a son of the son of a Queen, enjoyed a *sakdina* of 6,000 rai, which was increased to 15,000 rai on promotion to the rank of *Krom*. Grandsons of the King other than those descended from a Queen enjoyed a *sakdina* of 4,000 rai which was increased to 11,000 rai on becoming a *Krom*. (Note. I presume that the sisters, daughters and grand-daughters of the King enjoyed the same status as brothers, sons and grandsons). Princes of the rank of *Mom Chao* enjoyed a *sakdina* of 1,500 rai. Princes of the rank of *Chao* enjoyed a *sakdina* varying between 800 rai and 1,000 rai according to the position they held on the personal staff of the King. These Princes rode on the King's elephant and acted as the cavalry bodyguard of the King. Princes of the rank of *Mom Ratchwong* (หม่อมราชวงศ์) enjoyed a *sakdina* of 500 rai.

As I have already said, this law which I believe dates back to the fourteenth century of the Christian Era (the original of which must have been destroyed) was reconstructed in the reign of the first King of the Chakri dynasty in 1805. The law in its present form shows undoubted signs of having lost its original character, the language is modern.

In the law the words *Somdet Phra Chao Lan Thoe* (สมเด็จพระเจ้าหลานเธอ) and *Phra Chao Lan Thoe* are used. The word *Lan* (หลาน) in Siamese means both a nephew and a grandson. In this law

I think the word *Lan* refers to a grandchild, and this is supported by the use of the word *Nadda* (นัดดา), grandson, in the preamble. If this is the case it is difficult to understand why a Prince of the rank of *Mom Chao*, who to-day is a grandchild of a King, should be referred to separately. I do not think that the rank of *Mom Chao* existed when this law was promulgated. If this rank did exist then the Princes specified in the law as grandchildren of the King must have been Princes of the rank of *Mom Chao* elevated to the rank of *Phra Ong Chao*, a practice which was followed after the establishment of the Chakri dynasty. That the grandsons of a King referred to in the law were elevated *Mom Chao* I consider most improbable. It is doubtful whether the rank of *Mom Chao* existed in the early days of the Ayudhyan dynasty. Prince Damrong mentions in his work *Records of the Status of the Royal Family of the Chakri Dynasty* that the sons and daughters of the Maha Uparaj by a mother not a member of the Royal Family were known as *Mom Chao* and supports this statement by referring to an inscription of the reign of King Boromakot, which records that the sons of the Second King of that time were called *Mom Chao*, and gives as an example *Mom Chao Athit* (หม่อมเจ้าอาทิตย์). When this practice first came into use is not clear, but it seems probable that this rank was instituted just before the destruction of Ayudhya, and that the status *Phra Chao Lan Thoe* in the old law was then changed to that of *Mom Chao*. I, therefore, feel that the rank of *Mom Chao* in this law is an interpolation.

This law lays down the *sakdina* of a Prince when promoted to the rank of *Krom*. We understand that the rank of *Krom* only came into being in the reign of King Narayana, 1656-1686, many years after this law is supposed to have been promulgated. This is, probably another example of interpolation.

H. R. H. Prince Damrong has sent me a note in which he explains the origin of the word *Krom* and *Nai Krom* as applied to a Prince or Princess. His Royal Highness says that the servicemen of the Kingdom were divided into groups, and these groups were under the jurisdiction of a *Chao Krom* or Chief of *sakdina* rank. In the days of King Narayana among others there were two groups of servicemen, one under Luang Yothathip and the other under Luang Yothathep. The King placed the first group under the authority of his sister and the second under the authority of his daughter. As these servicemen belonged to these two *Kroms*, it became the practice to

speak of these two Princesses by the names of the *Kroms* under their authority, and thus the sister was known as *Krom Luang Yohathip* and the daughter as *Krom Luang Yothathep*. The word *Nai Krom* came into being at the same time for the servicemen were grouped in a *Krom* (ในกรม).

If the title *Krom* was for the first time applied to Prince or Princess as a symbol of rank or position in the reign of King Narayana then it is evident that this rank did not exist in the fourteenth or fifteenth century and must have been inserted in the old law by the Royal Commissioners or someone else.

The status of *Chao* mentioned in this law cannot apply to great-grand-children or any other group of persons related to the Royal Family, because the law uses the word *Chao* as though it were a title. The title *Chao* was conferred on ten officers riding on the King's elephant probably as a kind of bodyguard, their *sakdina* ranging from 1,000 to 800 rai. There were four *Chao* in charge of the flocks of buffaloes with a *sakdina* of 800 rai. The purpose to which these buffaloes were put is not revealed, but they were probably draught animals. There were also four officers of the rank of *Chao* who were apparently cavalymen in attendance on the King with a *sakdina* of 800 rai, and two other officers of this rank with the same *sakdina* whose duties are not mentioned.

That this title is of ancient origin is proved by the fact that Chao Ramkhob rode on King Naresuan's war elephant in the battle in which the Crown Prince of Burma was killed (1593) and was rewarded for some act of bravery. It is difficult after this lapse of time to ascertain the true status of this title *Chao*. H. R. H. Prince Damrong understands that this rank was known originally as Chao Ratnikul (เจ้าราชনীกุล), and persons elevated to this rank enjoyed a status equivalent to that of *Mom Chao*. The point is obscure, however, and I think it is possible that this status of *Chao* was conferred on persons related to the mother of the King or the Queen. Prince Damrong tells us that in the reign of Phra Phetracha the title was changed to *Chao Phra*, and towards the end of the Ayudhyan dynasty the word *Chao* was dropped entirely, *Phra* alone remaining. King Phra Phutthayodfa continued the use of the title *Phra* for persons of this status, and his successor conferred the rank of *Phra* in the category of *Ratnikul* on two sons of King Tak (Sin) of Thonburi.

Probably owing to the confusion which arose from the practice of conferring the title of *Phra* on persons of the status of *Chao Ratnikul*, King Mongkut changed the title to *Mom*.

There are many persons holding the rank of *Mom* to-day, but I do not think they have a status equivalent to that of *Mom Chao*, nor are they necessarily related to the mother of the King or the Queen. On promotion they were given the title of *Phya*.

Persons falling within the category of *Ratchinikul* (ราชินิกุล) to-day known as *Ratchinikul Bang Chang* are those who are descended from the mother of Queen Amarinthraboromrachini (พระอัมรินทรบรมราชินี) of King Phra Phutyodfa. This lady's name was San (สั้น) and as she prior to her death had become a nun King Mongkut conferred on her the posthumous title of *Somdet Phra Rupsirisophakmahannaknari* (สมเด็จพระอุปสมบทวิโสภาคย์มหานาคนารี), which is evidence of her having entered the holy order. It is thus clear that the *Ratchinikul* of to-day have no connection with the *Chao Ratnikul* of to-day have no connection with the *Chao Ratnikul* of the early days of the Ayudhyan dynasty.

The status of *Mom Ratchwong* mentioned in this law as being a descendant of the Royal family is difficult to understand, as H. R. H. Prince Damrong considers that the status of *Mom Ratchwong* was created in the reign of King Mongkut (1851-1868). If this is true, then persons other than the Royal Commissioners must have tampered with this law. I find that the status of *Mom Ratchwong* is mentioned in the edition of the old law published by Nai Mod (นายโหมด) in 1849. However this may be, it seems certain that the style *Mom Ratchwong* did not exist at the time when this law is believed to have been promulgated.

Many of the titles of the female officials of the palace have a flavour of modernity about them. A reference to the old *Kotmai Montienban* might throw some light on this subject.

Following the titles of the female officials of the palace are a number of male official titles (*vide* Clauses 5 and 6 of the law). Clause 5 lays down the *sakdina* for the Chiefs (*Chao Krom*) and subordinate officers of groups of servicemen under the authority of brothers, children and grandchildren of the Kings after they had been elevated to the rank of *Krom*. If Prince Damrong is right in believing that Princes and Princesses were not known as *Krom* or *Nai Krom* before

the reign of King Narayana, then this clause could only have been added several hundred years after the law is supposed to have been promulgated. Clause 6 lays down the titles for the head (*Chamu'n*), of the four Corps of Pages. These four titles of *Chamu'n* may have been created in the early days of the Ayudhyan dynasty.

At the time when this law is believed to have been promulgated I think that the members of the Royal House were graded as follows:—

- (1) The King, *Phrabat Somdetborombophitphraphutthachaoyuhua*.
- (2) A full brother of the King, *Somdet Phra Anuchathirat*.
- (3) A son of the King by a Queen, *Somdet Phra Chao Luk Thoe*.
- (4) A brother of the King other than a full brother, *Phra Anucha*.
- (5) A son of the King by a mother other than a Queen or Princess, *Phra Chao Luk Thoe*.
- (6) A grandson of the King descended from the Queen, *Somdet Phra Chao Lan Thoe*.
- (7) A grandson of the King descended from a mother other than a Queen or Princess, *Phra Chao Lan Thoe*.
- (8) *Chao Ratnikul*.

An examination of the titles given in the list of the official hierarchy shows that there are the following:—

- (1) *Chao Phraya*, (2) *Okphraya*, (3) *Phraya*, (4) *Okya*, (5) *Okphra*, (6) *Phra*, (7) *Okluang*, (8) *Luang*, (9) *Okkhun*, (10) *Khun*, (11) *Ok Mu'ceng*, (12) *Mu'n*, (13) *Phan*, (14) *Chamu'n*, and a few other titles which do not concern this paper.

Van Vliet in his *Historical Account* mentions several titled persons. The titles he speaks of are: *Okya*, *Okphra*, *Okluang* and *Okkhun*, and in no case does he mention a title without the prefix *Ok* which word he writes *O*, for example *Oya*, *Opera* (*Opra*). When speaking of the two chiefs or Arch-ministers, namely, *Chakri* and *Kalahom*, he gives their titles as *Okya*, not *Chao Phraya*. Other European writers of the same period mention the same titles as van Vliet. De la Loubère, in his work *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam*, says that the Maha Uparaj enjoyed the title of *Pa-ya*, to which was added the prefix *Chao* meaning Lord and sometimes only that of *Oc-ya* as stated by van Vliet. Siamese history on the other hand never mentions any title with the prefix *Ok* which is certain evidence that it was edited many years after the prefix *Ok* was dropped or fell into disuse. The term *Chao Phraya* is used in the histories as though it were a specific title, and not an honorific prefix. I do not believe that in those early times of which we are speaking the term *Chao Phraya* was a title as we understand it to-day, and I also think that

De la Loubère did not understand the full significance of this word. The word *Chao* is a pure Thai word meaning lord, chief or principal and is used today when speaking of a Prince.

In the Siamese language this word *Chao* is used in combination with many other words such as *ban* and *sap* to denote the head, the principal or the owner, thus the word *chao ban* means the lord or the head of a house, and *chao sap* the lord or owner of property. Having explained this elementary principle it becomes necessary to examine the word *Chao Phraya* from the same angle. I have given the meaning of the Thai word *Chao*, and it now remains to ascertain the meaning of the word *Phraya*. This word is not a Thai word, and one naturally turns to Sanskrit to obtain its real value. A Sanskrit scholar tells me that the Sanskrit word *vara* means excellent, best, eldest; and this is supported by Pandit Sivaram Apte in his Sanskrit Dictionary. It is generally believed that the word *Phra* which has become incorporated in the Siamese language is a corruption of this Sanskrit word *vara*. In due course the term *Phra* was applied to designate a rank in the official hierarchy. This same Sanskrit scholar states that the superlative form of *vara* is *varya*, which written in the Siamese language would be *Phraya*. Following up this line of reasoning the combination of the two words *Chao* and *Phraya* can have but one meaning, namely, the lord or possessor of excellence. My argument is supported by a document found in the *Records of the Regulation between Siam and Foreign Countries* etc. This document gives us a speech made by King Song Tham in 1622 on the occasion of his coronation using the voice of *Okya Phra Khlang*, who is referred to as *Chao Phraya Okya Phra Khlang*. The phrase is *Chao Phraya Okya Phra Khlang Sri Thamaratdechachatamatayanuchit phiphit ratanaratkosathibodi appaiphiriyabrakromphahu*. Did this official have two titles *Okya* and *Chao Phraya*? I think not, for van Vliet and other writers speak of him as *Okya Phra Khlang*. I am convinced that the words *Chao Phraya* have merely the sense of Excellency and thus the correct rendering would be *His Excellency Okya Phra Khlang*. The combination *Chao Phraya Maha Senabodi* mentioned in Siamese history and *Chao Phraya Maha Uparaj* mentioned by de la Loubère is not a title but means His Excellency so and so for the words, *Maha Senabodi* and *Maha Uparaj*, designate the office held.

My understanding that the title *Chao Phraya* did not exist in the earlier days of the Ayudhyan dynasty is also supported to some extent by Burmese history. The evidence of this history cannot be easily brushed aside for I refer to that period when Siam fell under the sway of Burma and the Burmese official world had a most intimate knowledge of Siamese administration. I refer to the period from 1548 to 1590. According to Siamese-history Prince Thienracha ascended the throne with the help of a number of young men who joined him in a conspiracy to overthrow the usurper Khun Wora-wongsathirat spoken of in the Luang Prasert's manuscript as Khun Chinarat, and his paramour Thao Sri Sudachan, the widow of King Chairachathirat. This conspiracy which took place in L. E. 910 (A. D. 1548) was successful, and Prince Thienracha ascended the throne under the style and title of King Maha Chakraphat. The Royal version of Siamese history tells us that he rewarded his fellow conspirators by conferring high rank on them and gave each a daughter in marriage. Khun Intharathep was made Chao Phya Sri Thamasokarat, Luang Sri Yos, Chao Phya Maha Senabodi, and Mu'n Ratsneha, Chao Phya Maha Thep. The two provincial governors Phya Phichai and Phya Swankhalok were promoted to the rank of *Chao Phya*. It is noteworthy that in Burmese history Somdet Phra Maha Thamarachathiratchao is referred to as *Oya* Thamaracha during the whole period he was connected with the Court of Burma up till 1569 when he became King.

Chao Phya Maha Thep is spoken of in Burmese history as Phra Maha Thep. The two provincial Governors of Phichai and Swankhalok who like their Chief Somdet Phra Maha Thamaracha, became the allies of the King of Burma, are referred to in Burmese history as *Oya* Phichai and *Oya* Swankhalok. The latter in the Luang Prasert's manuscript is given the rank of Phya Ong Swankhalok (พญาองค์สวณคโกล), which was probably a title used in the North. It is also remarkable that the officer holding the title of Chakri who played an important part in the history of this period and called Phya Chakri in Siamese history, is referred to in Burmese history as *Okya* Chakri and not *Oya* Chakri. This differentiation in the manner of spelling this title found in Burmese history causes one to wonder whether there were two titles one *Oya* and the other *Okya*.

As no mention is made in the old records which we can rely on of the title *Phraya*, it seems most unlikely that the title of *Okphraya*

ever existed. I think that these two titles have been inserted in the list of old titles by some tampering hand.

We should now discuss the word *Okya* (ออกยา). What does the word mean? This word is written in the Kotmai Ratburi (ออกยา,) whereas in a paper entitled *Siamese Documents of the Seventeenth Century*, published in the Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XIV, part 2, containing photographic copies of treaties between Siam and France in the reign of King Narayana, this word is written ออกญา. These documents supply further evidence that titles of that period 1687 still retained the prefix ออก. It also seems likely that the title พระยา had not replaced the title ออกญา at that time. I have endeavoured to find out to what language this word *Ok* belongs. As it is generally believed that the word is of Cambodian origin, I referred the question to Mlle. S. Karpelès, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque Royale du Cambodge in Phnom Penh. This lady has most kindly gone into the matter and has sent me a note prepared by a learned monk Phra Sasnasophon of Unnalom Monastery, in Phnom-Penh. I give the note, which is written in the Siamese language in full:—

“คำว่า ออก โดยสังเกตเห็นว่าเป็นคำโบราณ หมายความว่า “ตรวจ” เพราะมีคำซึ่งเขมรใช้ติดมาจนทุกวันนี้ว่า ออก แปลว่า “ตรวจ, ทูบ, คืบ, บั่น, ต่ำ, ว่ากต่างตามอำนาจใจ” หรืออีกนัยหนึ่งว่า “ประเสริฐ” ก็ได้ บางท่านเข้าใจว่า คำนี้ออกจากคำสันสกฤตว่า อู มาเป็นออก แปลว่าพระ “พรหม” หรือพระ “คิระ” เห็นจะไม่ใช่ออกมาจากคำสันสกฤตอย่างนั้น กระมัง? หรือจะว่าเป็นคำญวนก็ไม่ใช่เหมือนกัน

“เขมรใช้เฉพาะแต่ ออก กับ ญาและหลวง คือ ออกญา = ออกญา ซึ่งใช้เป็นตนตำแหน่งฐานันดรศักดิ์ ของมนตรีชั้นสูง กว่าที่ “พระ”, และถึงที่ เสด็จมาดักใช้คานหาหน้าเหมือนกัน ออกหลวง = ออกหลวง เป็นฐานันดร ของมนตรีผู้ ตรวจตระกูลบุตรในครั้งโบราณ (แต่ในสมัยปัจจุบันนี้ไม่มี เพราะเด็กไม่ให้ตระกูลบุตรเสียแล้ว) ออกพระ ออกขุน เขมรไม่เคยใช้ เลย ใช้เฉพาะแต่ ออกญา และ ออกหลวงเท่านั้น”

The following is a rough translation :—

"It is generally considered that the word *Ok* is an old word having the meaning of examine, inspect, because in the Cambodian language of to-day we have the word *Ok* meaning examine, inspect, strike, beat, abuse, scold and also meaning excellent. Some scholars believe that this word is derived from the Sanskrit word *U* and has become changed to *Uk* meaning Brahma, Siva. I do not think this word comes from Sanskrit or that the word is an Annamite one.

Cambodians use the word *Ok* in combination with the word *Ya* and *Luang*, thus *Okya* or *Okya* designate the title of an official (มนตรี) higher than that of *Phra*. This title is used for a Minister of State. *Okluang* or *Okluang* was the title of an official having the duty of inspecting persons belonging to the Sudra caste in ancient times, but this office no longer exists because this caste has been abolished. The titles *Okphra* and *Okkhun* are unknown in Cambodia where the titles *Okya* and *Okluang* alone have been used."

I think this learned monk intends to convey the understanding that the prefix *Ok* was never used in conjunction with the title *Phra* and *Khun*, and this seems to me logical.

Is this word *Ok* a Cambodian or Thai word? In a work entitled *Lilit Phra Lo* which H. R. H. Prince Damrong believes was written by King Trailokanat who reigned in Ayudhya in the middle of the fifteenth century is found this word *Ok* in combination with other words. The scene of this work is laid in the North of Siam. The following are a few examples *Okthao*, *Okthao-thirat*, *Oknang*, *Okthai*, (ออกท่าม ออกท่ามวิราช, ออกนพ ออกไฟ). The word *Ok* evidently means great, excellent and honourable. In the dictionary published by the Ministry of Education we find the word *Pho Ok*, *Mae Ok* (พ่อออก แม่ออก). The word *Ok* (ออก) having the same meaning as given above but it will be noticed that in this combination the word *Ok* (ออก) is an affix not a prefix. I am told by a scholar that this word is still used in some of the Northern Thai principalities and also in Southern Siam. The inhabitants of Southern Siam are of ancient Thai stock, who settled there many centuries ago. It is likely that the first settlers were soldiers and others who accompanied King Rama Kamhaeng of Sukhothai in the first Thai movement to the South in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Since then prisoners of war made captive in campaigns against Chiangmai and other Northern

principalities have been sent to colonise this territory notably in the reign of King Ramesuan 1388-95 when many thousands of Lao families were sent to Singora, Phatalung and Nakhon Sri Thamarat.

I am inclined to think that this word *Ok* (เอก) is a pure Thai word having the meaning of great, excellent, honourable which was used towards persons of higher status than the person speaking, to show respect and homage. As time passed this word was used in combination with other words to denote a title in the official hierarchy. The word *Ok* of ancient days had the same value as our present day *Khun* (คุณ). The title *Okya* (เอกยา) may be an abbreviated form of *Okpraya*, therefore, the titles of *Okya*, *Okphra*, *Okluang*, *Okkhun* would in modern parlance be *Khun Phraya*, *Khun Phra*, *Khun Luang*, etc.

It has been suggested to me that the titles with the prefix *Ok* were of higher rank than those without. I do not think that this can be the case, for as I have already stated, even up to the reign of King Narayana these titles were never used without the prefix *Ok*.

It would require a great deal of research work to prove when the title *Chao Phraya*, as we know it to-day, was first created and when the title *Okya* was changed to *Phraya* and the prefix *Ok* discarded. This change, probably, took place after the reign of King Narayana (1688).

It is, however, quite clear that when the title *Chao Phraya* was created, and the title *Okya* changed to *Phraya* that, the honorific or courtesy title of *Chao Phraya* could no longer be used and had to be changed for one could not say *Chao Phraya Phraya Indramontri*. The genius of Siamese thought found an easy solution, the word *Khun* (คุณ meaning good, excellent) was substituted for *Phraya*, thus the form *Chao Khun Phraya Indramontri* came into being.

Having made an attempt to clarify the obscurity surrounding the word *Chao Phraya*, an explanation which may shock the preconceptions of some Siamese scholars, I now propose to deal with the title *Chao Phraya* as we know it to-day. In modern times the title *Chao Phraya* is divided into three grades. The first grade was only conferred on persons related to the Royal family and those belonging to the Ratchinikul (ราชินิกุล) that is persons descended from the mother of the Queen of King Phra Phutthayodfa, known to-day as Ratchinikul Bangchang. The patent of title was inscribed on a tablet of

gold (สุพรรณบัตร). The second grade was conferred on Ministers of State or persons whom the King desired to specially honour. The patent of title was inscribed on a tablet of silver (ศิรียบัตร). The third grade was conferred on persons other than those mentioned above. The patent of title was inscribed on paper or vallum (สัญญาบัตร). In the reign of King Mongkut a new title was created, that of *Somdet Chao Phraya* with a *sakdina* of 30,000 rai. This title conferred on the holder, rank and status practically equal to that of a Prince, somewhat analogous to the rank of Prince conferred on Bismarck with the difference that it was not hereditary.

The title *Phraya* in modern days is also divided into three classes but this classification was made by means different to that used in the case of the title *Chao Phraya*. Conferring different grades of the Chulachomklao Order was the method used. Up till quite modern times the rank of persons holding the title of *Phraya* was demarcated by insignia of this Order conferred by the King. The insignia differed according to the honour which the King desired to bestow.

There were other means by which the Kings showed special favour to any particular official. They took the form of granting the right to ride in palanquins of different design; the right of carrying swords the scabbards and hilts being more or less richly decorated, and to use areca nut boxes and gold or silver salver etc. given by the King.

(4) CONCERNING PERSONAGES REFERRED TO BY VAN VLIET.

In his *Historical Account*, van Vliet refers to the acts and doings of many high personages and others, and also to some temples and places. It is most difficult, owing to the method of spelling these names, to identify many of them. I have been at much pains to overcome this difficulty, for I feel that unless one knows who the persons are the value of the account is lessened. I therefore propose to deal with the matter in this paragraph.

(1) *Pra Marit* (Phra Marit).

The name Phra Marit can only refer to King Phra Naresuan. The word Marit means black and this King was known as the Black Prince owing to his swarthy complexion. Phra Marit may have been the name under which this Prince was known in his childhood and youth and it may be that he adopted the name Naresuan on his

coronation. The word Naresuan means *Lord of Men*, a title which he richly deserved owing to the high qualities of courage and leadership he possessed. This word Marit may be Naret the short form for Naresuan.

(2) *Ekathosrot*.

The actual name of King Naresuan's brother who succeeded him on the throne does not appear in the *Historical Account*. As, I, however, have referred to this brother, King Ekathosrot, it may interest the reader to know what this word implies. In the Ramayana the King of Ayodhya, father of Rama, was known as Daçaratha. This name has a peculiar significance. The word Daçaratha (Thosrot), in its simple form means ten chariots, but this is not the significance, it holds as the name of the King. Pandit Sivaram Apte tells us in his Sanskrit Dictionary that the real significance of the word is that King Daçaratha was so great and so mighty a King that his war-chariots knew no frontiers, i. e., his chariots went to the eight directions or the eight cardinal points of the compass as well as to the firmament of heavens above and the nether world below the earth. It simply meant that he was all-powerful, a Universal Monarch. King Ekathosrot of Siam thought he would go one better than this by declaring that his chariots were able to go in eleven directions, that is the ten over which Daçaratha had sway as well as the centre of the earth making eleven.

Phya Prachakitkorachak in his *History of Yonok* explains the meaning of this word. He says that Ekathosrot means that the King had sway over eleven States or Kingdoms, that is the suzerain state and ten vassel principalities. This authority states that the title Ekathosrot was not the specific style or title of any particular King but was used generally by monarchs who desired to eulogise their power and might. Phya Prachakit's explanation of the meaning of the word Ekathosrot does not appeal to me as having any philological or historical foundation. This Prince was known as the White Prince in contradistinction to his brother, the Black Prince.

(3) *Praongsry d'harma Raetsia Thyara* (Phra Ong Sri Thamarachathirat).

One learns from Siamese history that King Prasat Thong was crowned King under the style and title of Prasat Thong in the year of the Little Era 992 (A. D. 1630). Van Vliet, however, tells us that "After the death of the King, in 1629, the Regent (Okya Kalahom)

was declared absolute King, with much ceremony and pomp, he being then thirty years old. On his coronation he was given the name of Praongsry d'harma Raetsia Thyara." The title of the King as given by van Vliet is unmistakable. It is Phra Ong Sri Thamarachathirat. If this is true why do Siamese historians tell us that he was crowned under the style of Prasat Thong? There is a legend extant which relates that some years after becoming King the God Indra appeared to him in a dream and told him that owing to his great merit a notable omen would occur which would add glory and renown to his name. The God told the King that a beautifully modelled golden palace would be found hidden in a great ant-hill on a certain place. The King ordered the Ministers of State, courtiers and other officials to make a search. The ant-hill was found and on being demolished a golden palace was recovered. From that day on the King was known as King Prasat Thong.

(4) *Pra Ongly* (Phra Ong Lai).

In Part two, I have placed on record the legends relating to the birth of Phra Ong Lai. I fully accept the story that he was a son of Prince Ekathosrot and the Bang-pa-in village maiden born some five years before this Prince became King. He attempted to hide his connection with this girl by placing the child under the care of the elder brother of one of his recognised concubines. The Prince did not take Phra Ong Lai's mother into his palace and he does not seem to have admitted the parentage as King Narayana did in regard to Nai Du'a. We do not know whether Prince Ekathosrot was a full or half brother of King Naresuan, at any rate they were sons of King Phra Maha Thamaracha who was born of parents belonging to the old Phra Ruang Chao family of Sukhothai. This King as a boy had no royal rank but was known in history as Khun Phirentharathep, this may have affected the status of his children and grand-children. Phra Ong Lai was the grandson of Khun Phirentharathep and would be entitled to the position of *Phra Chao Lan Thoe*, and, therefore, would be called *Phra Ong*. The father endeavoured to keep the parentage secret but this could not prevent those closely connected with the boy knowing the truth. Accepting the theory that Phra Ong Lai was a Prince by birth but not by recognition, it might be asked how a member of the Royal family of the rank of *Phra Chao Lan Thoe* could be given a title as a nobleman such as Chamu'n Sri Sorarak (Chamu'n Sanphet?), Okya Sri Worawong and Okya Kalahom. In

the *Sakdina* grading of Princes mentioned by me in Paragraph 3 of this Part will be found Princes termed *Mom Chao*. As provision is made for grandchildren of a King these *Mom Chao* cannot be grandchildren but may be Princes of a lower status. A *Mom Chao* to-day as I explained in Paragraph 3 is a grandchild of a King and may be elevated to the rank of Phra Ong Chao. It is quite possible that the children of Princes born of mothers having no recognised status were known as *Mom Chao*. This *Sakdina* Law shows so many signs of having been tampered with in the first Reign of the Chakri dynasty or even after, that there are two possibilities, one that the rank of *Mom Chao* was given to sons of Princes by unrecognised mothers or that this title *Mom Chao* did not exist at all in those days and the children of those unrecognised mothers were known as *Chao*, a rank provided for in the Law. However interesting these speculations about the rank of the Princes in those days may be, it is a mere waste of thought, for we can know little about this Law, which may have been promulgated in either A. D. 1376 or 1455, nearly four hundred years before the destruction of Ayudhya, and the attempt made by a Royal Commission to reconstruct it. In Part two, concerning the birth story of Phra Ong Lai, I of deliberate purpose related the story of Nai Du'a as given in the official Siamese History which has received the sanction of the Royal Historian, King Mongkut. In this history under the reign of King Narayana full details are given of the relationship between the King and one of his pages Nai Du'a. These words are used “สมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัวตรัสได้ ทรงฟังดังนั้นก็ทรงพระเมตตาถามแก่นายเดื่อมหาดเล็ก ซึ่งเป็นพระราชบุตรนั้นขึ้นว่า”, which, translated, means *His Majesty the King showed the greatest affection towards the page, Nai Du'a, who was his son.* On account of the courage and knowledge in the handling of elephants shown by Nai Du'a the King commanded that he be given the rank of Luang Sorasak in the Elephant Department. Here we have a case of a King having a son by a Princess of Chiangmai whose parentage he desired to hide, but eventually admitted making that son a Luang. This boy Du'a was a *Phra Chao Luk Thoe* and therefore, entitled to be called *Phra Ong Chao* yet his father gave him a patent of office as a nobleman. This case proves that the sons of King whose parentage it was desired to hide could be given the rank of a nobleman. King Ekathosrot made his son, Lai, a humprae and afterwards

Chamu'n Sri Sorarak (Chamu'n Sanphet?), and this precedent having been established King Song Tham made his brother Lai, Okya Sri Worawong. This proves conclusively that, in certain cases a King could give a son the rank of a nobleman, if he desires to do so.

I discuss the point as to whether Phra Ong Lai was Chamu'n Sri Sorarak or Chamu'n Sanphet in my notes explaining the various titles. (See No. 17 *Pramonsy Saropha*).

(5) *Oya Calahom* (Okya Kalahom).

The word Calahom appears on almost every page of van Vliet's *Historical Account*. Most people have heard of the Ministry of War or Defence as Krasuang Kalahom by which name it is still known to-day. The word Kalahom has been the subject matter of much speculation, argument and discussion, but no one seems to have ever been able to state definitely what the word means or where it comes from.

I have approached several Siamese scholars in an endeavour to find a solution of the mystery surrounding this word. One scholar tells me that the correct way to write this word is Kralahom and this is the form used in the Dictionary published by the Department of Education in 1927. Since then many scholars have favoured the form Kalahom which is in use to-day. This scholar remarks that the Minister of Marine in Cambodia was known as Okya Kralahom and the Minister of War as Okya Chakri, and that this fact caused him to look further afield for the origin of this word. He tells me that in Arabic the "killa" means a fort or defence works and "homa" means Minister of the Army. Thus he believes the word Kalahom is of Arabic origin and came to Siam through the Khmer.

Another scholar says that there can be no question about the derivation of this word. He states that the word Kalahom as used in Siam is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Kalahama (कलहम) which means war. This scholar feels that the last syllable of the Sanskrit original was lengthened into "homa" (โหม) in order to make it convey a meaning to the Siamese. This is due to popular attempts at etymology which account for curious spellings of many other borrowed words as for example "Ya fran" (Saffron หยัฟรัน).

I myself thought the word might possibly have a Mon origin. In the Mon language a Prince or Lord is known as Tala, sometimes pronounced Kala. Portuguese writers have spoken of the King of Luang

Phrabang as Kalamu'oeng, and as the word "homa" (โหม) in the Siamese dictionary is said to mean war, a combination of Kala meaning "lord" and "homa" meaning war would fit in with the Siamese system used for giving names to officials to distinguish the nature of their duty. Thus Okya Kalahom would mean the excellent or great one, Lord of War. However, I rather favour the opinion of the scholar who says the word is derived from Sanskrit.

As regards the personages spoken of by van Vliet I give in the following table my interpretation of van Vliet's curious orthography :—

No.	van Vliet's spelling	Modern transliteration	Siamese
1	Pra-Inter-Va-Tsia-Thiant-Siangh-Pheevgh	Phra Intra racha haeng chang phu'ock	พระอินทราชาแห่งช้างเผือก
2	Pra-Tiavw, Pra Sathavgh	Phra Chao Prasat Thong	พระเจ้าปราสาททอง
	Pra-Tiavw Tsangh	Phra chao chang	พระเจ้าช้าง
	Pra-Tiavw Isiangh Hon-Dengh		
	Pra Thiangh Chobea		
3	Pra Ongly	Phra Ong Lai	พระองค์ไฉ
4	Oya Siworrawongh	Okya Sri Worawong	ออกยาศรีวรวงค์
5	Oya Calahom	Okya Kalahom	ออกยากลาโหม
6	Oya Kheen	Okya Kien	ออกยาเกียร์ เจ้ากรมตั้งทองช้าง
7	Opera Taynam; Oya Iainam	Okphra Tainam	ออกยาสีหราชเดโชไชยที่เยนโอะโยยพิริยบรากรมพาหุ
8	Opera Sirsy Anerat	Okphra Sri Saowarat	ออกพระศรีเสาวราชภักดีศรีสมุหะพระกลาโหม
9	Opera Tiula; Opera Tjula	Okphra Chula	ออกพระจุลราชมนตรี
10	Oloangh Than Aray-laeq; Thantrayloeq	Okluang Thamatrailok	ออกหลวงธรรมไตรโลกสมุหะพระกลาโหม
11	Oya Senaphimoeq	Okya Senaphimuk	ออกยาเสนาภิมุข
12	Oya Bergkelang; Barekelangh	Okya Phra Khlang	ออกยาพระคลัง
13	Pra Ongh Thit Terrastia	Phra Ong Chetthathirat	พระองค์ไชยภูริราช
14	Oloangh Mancough	Okluang Mongkhon	ออกหลวงมงคลรัตนราชมนตรีศรีสมุหะสรรพากรใน
15	Oya Capheim	Okya Kamhaeng	ออกยากำแหง
16	Oya Sidarma Thyra	Okya Sri Thamathirat	ออกยาศรีธรรมราช
17	Pramonsy Saropha	Chamun' Sri Saowarak	จมื่นศรีสรักษ์ (สรเพ็ชร?)
18	Oya Khauw	Okya Kaeo	ออกยาแก้ว
19	Feyna; Flyna	Faina	ฝ้ายหน้า
20	Zian Croi Ma ly Tjan	Chao Khrua Manichan	เจ้าร่วมฉั่นหรี
21	Pra Marit	Phra Marit (Phra Naresuan)	พระนเรศวร
22	Phra Ongthong	Phra Ong Thong	พระองค์ทอง
23	Phra Sysingh	Phra Sri Sin	พระศรีศิลป์
24	Oloangh Pibon	Okluang Phibun	ออกหลวงพิบูลสงคราม
25	Oya Carassima	Okya Nakhon Ratsima	ออกยานครราชสีมา
26	Choen Choempri	Chong Chai Phakdi	จงใจภักดี
27	Eptiongh Omongh	Aphai Ronarong	อภิธรรมรงค์
28	Oya Pouclouek	Okya Phitsnulok	ออกยาพิษณุโลก
29	Tiongh Maytiau Wangh	Changmai Changwang	ช้างไม้จางวาง
30	Oya Ombrat	Okya Uparat	ออกยามหาอุปราชชาติวรวงศ์ภักดีดินทรสินทร
			เดโชชัย ฯ
31	Sompan Meon	Phan Ngoen	พานเงิน
32	Apra Marit	Okphra Amorarit	ออกพระอมรฤทธิ
33	Praongo Marit	Phra Ong Amorarit	พระองค์อมรฤทธิ
34	Phraongh Athit Socras Wangh	Phra Ong Athit Chakrawong	พระองค์อาทิตย์จักรวงศ์
35	Oya Ligor; Ligoor	Okya Nakhon	ออกยานครศรีธรรมราช
36	Praongsry d'harma Raetsin Thyara	Phra Ong Sri Thamarachathirat	พระองค์ศรีธรรมราชธิราช
37	Arkon Cirwy Agwodt; Cirwy Agwod	Okkhun Sri Waiyawut	ออกขุนศรีไวยวุฒิไชยฤทธิ
38	Opera Soupa Pontrook	Okphra Sakdapholarit	ออกพระศักดิ์พลฤทธิ
39	lauphia	Thao-phyia	ท้าวพระยา
40	Oya Pithey	Okya Phichai	ออกยาพิไชยสงคราม
41	Oya Iumerat; Oya Immerat	Okya Yomarit	ออกยามราชอินทราธิบดีศรีไวยวัณโลกกร
42	Oya Siery; Oya Siery	Okya Chakri	สมเด็จพระนครบาลมคธะโดยพิริยบรากรมพาหุ
			ออกยาจักรีศรีวงศ์ภักดีสมุหนายกอัครมหานายก
			อโยยพิริยบรากรมพาหุ
			ออกยามาสัตย์

Having attempted to clarify the obscurity surrounding the personages, etc., spoken of by van Vliet I now propose to give a brief sketch of the genesis and history of some of the titles.

(4) *Oya Siworrawongh* (Okya Sri Worawong).

It is a curious fact that this title, which is a well known palace appointment and even exists to-day, is not given in a list of officials which accompanies the law ascribed to King Trailokanat. There can be no question about this title having been in use during the reign of King Song Tham. It may be that the title which means "excellent lineage" was created during that reign to suit the peculiar circumstances of Phra Ong Lai's birth and then fell into disuse until modern time.

(6) *Oya Kheeu* (Okya Kien).

The vowel "u" is probably a misprint for the consonant "n". The officer referred to is I think Okya Kien, Chao Krom Dang Thong Sai (เจ้ากรมตั้งทองชัย), an important Mon officer in the army with a *Sakdina* of 1,600 rai next in rank to Okya Mahayotha. He was the chief of the golden shield bearers of the left, Mahayotha being a Changwang of the right.

(7) *Opera Taynam* (Okphra Thainam).

An officer in the army holding this title of Thainam appears in Siamese history from very early days. Thainam is an abridgement of the full title which is Siharatdechochai Thainam Aphaiphiriyabrakromphahu and according to the *Kotmai Rajaburi* was an Okphraya had a *Sakdina* 10,000 rai which I doubt. The title does not seem to exist to-day.

(8) *Opera Sirsy Anerat* (Okphra Sri Saowarat).

Van Vliet's method of spelling this title leads me to think that it is Sri Saowarat and not Sri Nawarat (ศรีนาวรัตน์), as held by a scholar of note. The title in full is Sri Soawaratphakdi Sri Samuhaprakalahom, had a *Sakdina* of 2,400 rai, and was held by an army officer. The title Sri Naowarat belonged to the Kromthakhwa (Foreign Office) and was probably held by a Malay or Indian. This title I think is of a comparatively modern origin.

(9) *Opera Tiula* (Okphra Chula).

This is a Foreign Office title and was of some importance being held by an Indian Mohammedan. The full title is Chula Ratmontri with a *Sakdina* of 1,400 rai and is in existence to-day.

(10) *Oloangh Tham Aray-lacq* (Okluang Thamatrailok).

This is a high army title enjoyed by the officer in charge of the Kalahom and had a *Sakdina* of 3,000 rai. The title is Thamatrailok and the office Samuha-phra-kalahom.

(11) *Oya Senaphimocq* (Okya Senaphimuk).

In the days when van Vliet was in Ayudhya there was only one Japanese Corps forming part of the foreign Legion in the service of the King. This Corps was fully constituted having for its chief or colonel, Senaphimuk, sometimes holding the rank of Okphra and sometimes that of Okya with a *Sakdina* of 1,000 rai. There was a *palat-krom* or adjutant, Khun Sura Songkhram, with a *Sakdina* of 600 rai and a *smabanchi* or paymaster, Mu'n Chaisura, with a *Sakdina* of 500 rai. As time passed another Japanese Corps was created, but we do not know when this took place. The first Corps commanded by an officer with the title of Senaphimuk became the regiment of the right, and a new regiment of the left was recruited. This new regiment was under the command of an officer holding the title of Luang Narairittha (หลวงนารายณ์ ฤทธา). The adjutant was Khun Phonphaibul (ขุนพลไพบูลย์) and the paymaster was Mu'n Rakyotha (หมื่นรักษโยธา). Judging by the title, it seems probable that this new Corps was founded by King Narayana who had received the support of the Japanese soldiers when seizing power (1656). It is a curious fact that although there are no Japanese serving the King now all these six titles still exist and are held by Siamese officers.

(12) *Oya Bergkelang; Oya Burekelangh* (Okya Phra Khlang).

This title has been known to Europeans in Siam for centuries, probably, because they had to do business with this officer. Okya Phra Khlang was in charge of the King's trading enterprises, his ships, and certain classes of taxes such as customs, dues and royalties collected at the ports of the Kingdom. As the Europeans who visited Siam in those early days were traders they had to do their business with officials of this Department which was known as Phra Khlang. In addition to the duties pertaining to this Department mentioned above all matters referring to foreign policy, diplomatic correspondence emanated from it, and as the years passed this Department became known to foreigners as the Foreign Office (Krom Tha). Before the status of a Foreign Office was arrived at, centuries had passed and it was only after the signing of the treaty with Great Bri-

tain in 1856 when the King's trading monopoly was abolished and the right of free trade instituted, that the functions of this office became crystallised. During all this period of evolution and transition I cannot find that the title Phra Khlang existed. It is not mentioned in the official hierarchy. However, in the first Reign of the Chakri dynasty there were two Chao Phya and one Phya Phra Khlang, in the second Reign three Chao Phya Phra Khlang and in the third, one only. The title then disappeared. The official known as Chao Phya Phra Khlang in the fourth Reign did not hold this title. His title was Chao Phya Thiphakorawongmahakosathibodi. It is significant that during the Chakri dynasty the title Phra Khlang was not always connected with the Foreign Office (Krom Tha), but Chao Phya Phra Klang sometimes held the office of Minister of War. In the early days of the seventeenth century diplomatic correspondence was sealed by Okya Phra Khlang, and the King speaks of Okya Phra Khlang which leads one to suppose that the title was an official one and not one of popular usage. In the *Na Pholarn'oen* attached to the law ascribed to King Trailokanat will be found the title Okya Sri Thamarat det chat amataya nuchit Phiphitratanatarkosa thibodi aphaiphiriyabrakromphahu with a *sakdina* of 10,000 rai. The duties pertaining to this title are the same as those performed by Okya Phra Khlang. It is difficult, however, to understand why all letters connected with foreign policy written by command of the King should have been issued in the name of Okya Sri Thamarat etc. and have been sealed by an official holding the title of Okya Phra Khlang. Under the system relating to official correspondence there were two forms in use. Letters issued under the instructions from the King were known as *Santra* (สารตรา), and letters issued by a Minister or Chief of a Department were known as *Thongtra* (ท้องตรา). The first King of the Chakri dynasty had held the title of Chao Phya Chakri, the Chief of the Civil Section of the Government. The Mahatthai was the Department entrusted with the duty of conveying the King's benevolent desires and wishes for the welfare of the people to the people, hence the name Mahatthai (Mahad Thaya). From this time on all *Santras* emanating from the Mahatthai were written under the name of Chao Phya Chakri but signed by the Minister in charge. It is difficult, however, to apply this same line of reasoning to the office of Phra Khlang. That the title Phra Khlang existed in the seventeenth century is certain, but why

it is not mentioned in the *sakdina* of the official hierarchy is difficult to understand. King Song Tham in 1622 made a speech on his Coronation using the voice of Chao Phya Okya Phra Khlang or Vice King Sri Thamarat det chat amatayanuchit phiphitratanatkosathibodi aphiphiriyabrakromphahu. The word Chao Phya here has the meaning of Excellency. The title, therefore, would be His Excellency Okya Phra Khlang, etc. I have already said that the title of Phra Khlang was connected with the title Sri Thamarat. The use of this title by the King goes to prove that these two titles were one and the same, and that the title Phra Khlang was used officially rather than that of Sri Thamarat. It may, however, be that the title is simply a memory of the ancient Ministerial office of Khun Khlang from which it is undoubtedly descended.

(14) *Oloangh Mancough* (Okluang Mongkhon).

In the early days of the seventeenth century the official holding this title was the revenue officer, chief of the department collecting taxes in the Metropolitan area. The title in full is Okluang Mongkhon Ratanaratmontri, and had a *sakdina* of 2,400 rai.

(15) *Oya Capheim* (Okya Kamhaeng).

Owing to the curious method of spelling words adopted by van Vliet, some doubt exists as to whether this title is Okya Kamhæng or Okya Kamphæng. In the list of titles *Na Pholru'oen* (Civil Branch) will be found the title Luang Kamphæng ram phakdi sri suriyachat with a *sakdina* of 3,000 rai. This officer held a high position in the Elephant Department of the right. In the Military Branch will be found Okya Kamhængsongkhram ram phakdi phiriyaphaba with a *sakdina* of 10,000 rai. This officer was in charge of the Province of Nakhon Ratsima. As van Vliet says that Capheim attempted to seize the throne himself and considered him to be a nobleman of high dignity and power, I lean towards the belief that Oya Capheim is Okya Kamhængsongkram. However as van Vliet in his *Historical Account* also refers to a nobleman holding the title of Oya Carassima who is undoubtedly Okya Nakhon Ratsima my identification may be wrong. In this connection, however, it is well to remember that officials are frequently called after the name of the Provinces they governed, for example Okya Phitsnulok whose real title was Okya Surasri etc.

(16) *Oya Sidarma Thyra* (Okya Sri Thamathirat).

This is a palace appointment and it still exists to-day.

(17) *Pramonsy Saropha* (Chamu'n Sri Sorarak).

In Part two, Part four paragraph 4 and elsewhere in this paper I have adopted H. R. H. Prince Damrong's understanding that this title is Chamu'n Sri Sorarak and was held by Phra Ong Lai (*vide Wars between Siam and Burma*). I have given voice to a note of suspicion in Part four paragraph 4 because I doubt whether there could have been two men holding the title of Chamu'n Sri Sorarak at the same time, for it must be remembered that Siamese history states that Chamu'n Sri Sorarak assisted King Song Tham to seize the throne. This official was created Maha Uparaj and died almost immediately after. If this story is true this Chamu'n Sri Sorarak was not our Phra Ong Lai. An examination of the title as written by van Vliet *Pramonsy Saropha* lends colour to this suspicion. Van Vliet only gives the name in full in one place, and in others the abbreviated form *Pramonsy*. *Saropha* has no resemblance to *Sorarak* but might easily be a van Vliet's method of spelling "Sanphet", which although pronounced in this way, is written "Saraphet." This theory may be refuted by exposing the fact that the title was Chamu'n Sanphet and not Chamu'n Sri Sanphet. The *Kotmai Rajaburi* gives the title as Sanphet but that means nothing, for the title in those days might have been Chamu'n Sri Sanphet. This point raised by me seems worthy of consideration. If my suspicion that Phra Ong Lai was Chamu'n Sanphet can be proved to have a foundation and that he was in reality Chamu'n Sri Sanphet or Chamu'n Sanphet then that portion of Siamese history which states that Chamu'n Sri Sorarak assisted King Song Tham to seize the throne and became Maha Uparaj may be correct after all.

In ancient days there were four Chamu'n of superior rank in personal attendance on the King, each holding a *sakdina* of 1,000 rai connected with the Sak, Sit, Rit, and Det Wen or Corps of Pages. In addition there were many Chamu'n of inferior rank with a *sakdina* of 800 rai. These superior Chamu'ns were each in charge of a section of the Corps of Pages, these men were known as Huamu'n Mahadlek and were assisted by four officials called Nai Sak, Nai Sit, Nai Rit and Nai Det with a *sakdina* of 800 rai each. The titles, according to the *Kotmai Rajaburi*, are Chamu'n Sanphetphakdi, ton chu'ook (จันทน์สรเพ็ชรภักดี ดันเชือก), Chamu'n Sri Saorak, ton chu'ook (จันทน์ศรีเสถียรกษัตริย์ ดันเชือก), Chamu'n Wai Woranat, plai chu'ook (จันทน์ไวยวรนาถ ปลาย

เชือก), Chamu'n Smoe-chai-rat, plai chu'ook (จ้านสมอไจราช ปลายเชือก). It is difficult to ascertain the meaning of the words ตันเชือก and ปลายเชือก which undoubtedly denoted the nature of the duties of these four officers. In modern times with the reorganisation of the Palace Department these four superior Chamu'ns became Chaomu'n in order to draw a line of demarcation between them and the inferior Chamu'n. These four Chaomu'ns were generally referred to colloquially as Phra nai, a courtesy title. The use of this courtesy title is certainly quite modern. Thus in modern times in the Palace Department there were three grades of Mu'n: viz. 1) Mu'n; 2) Chamu'n and 3) Chaomu'n. In the reign of King Chulalongkorn the duties of these four Chaomu'ns became specific, each being placed in charge of a group of pages known as a Wen. Chaomu'n Sauphet was in charge of the Wen Sak and performed the duties of the Steward of the Household. Chaomu'n Sri Sorarak was in charge of the Wen Sit and had the duty of looking after the upkeep of the palaces, furniture and fittings, etc. Chaomu'n Wai Woranat in charge of the Wen Rit, whose duties were to look after the Royal stables, vehicles and boats. Chaomu'n Samoe-chai-rat was in charge of the Wen Det and supervised the Royal buttery and kitchen. The title Nai Sak, etc., became Luang Sak. In the Palace of the Second King or Wang Na there were also officials holding the rank of Chaomu'n in charge of Wens or groups of pages named differently to those of the Royal Palace.

(18) *Oya Khaww* (Okya Kaeo).

This title is difficult to identify. As, however, van Vliet tells us that the astrologers informed the King that the omens were against the appointment of a high dignitary of state to carry out the duties of mock-king in connection with the ploughing ceremony it became necessary to select an official of low rank in order to placate the displeasure of the God. For this reason I have gone over the list of the official hierarchy and find a title Luang Kaeo Kharuharatana (หลวงแก้วฤๅษะรัตน) chief of the King's orchards and gardens. This is the officer of lowly rank, I think, selected to perform the ploughing ceremony in the name of the King and was created an Okya for that purpose. This official nearly lost his life at the hands of Phra Ong Lai.

(19) *Feyna*; *Flyna* (Faina).

This refers to the Crown Prince who was known to foreigners by

this designation. The reason for this is because the Crown Prince or Second King was spoken of colloquially by the name of his palace, the Wang Na. This word means, according to Prince Damrong, the palace in front of the King's palace. I find that in the old State of Nan the Crown Prince was referred to as Uparaj Ho Na (อุปราชหน่). The words Ho Na have the same meaning as Wang Na. In Burma the residence of the Crown Prince was called "Ein-she", the word "Ein" meaning house and "she" meaning in front. However as the palaces of the King of Burma and his Queens were known by their situation namely the Central, the Northern, the Western and the Southern, there is a possibility that the house of the Crown Prince was situated on the East, for the word "She" also has the meaning of East. In Ayudhya the palace known as Wang Chan Kasem, generally used as a place of residence by the Second King, lay to the East of the Royal palace.

(20) *Zian Crao Mady Tjan* (Chao Khrua Mani Chan).

The title of Khrua Yai (ขวัญยาย) was conferred on a lady, the maternal grand-mother of a Prince (Phra Ong Chao). In this case the lady was a widow of King Naresuan. I find many references to this title in the Epic of I-Nao (อิเหนา).

(24) *Oluangh Pibon* (Okluang Phibun).

There are many titles in Siam in which the word Phibun is used. However I am convinced that this title is Phibun Songkhram the title of the military Governor of the Province of Nakhon Nayok with a *Sakdina* of 800 rai.

(26) *Choen Choenpra* (Chong chai phak).

This title as written by van Vliet does not afford any clue for its identification. There are several palace titles such as Luang Chong chai phob (หลวงจงจกพ), Nai Chong chai phak (นายจงจกศักดิ์), and Chamu'n Chong phakdi ong (จมนจงจกดีองค์), any of which may be the official spoken of by van Vliet. As Phra Ong Lai conspired to murder Prince Sri Sin and Prince Thong, who were living in the palace of the Second King, it is probable that his fellowconspirators were connected with that palace. As the title Nai Chong chai phak, generally spoken of as Chong chai phak without the Nai, was a humphrae in charge of a group of pages in the palace of the Second King, I am inclined to think that this is the title mentioned by van

Vliet. The title Chong chai phob was also held by an official of the Second King.

(27) *Eptiongh Omongh* (Aphai Ronarong).

The spelling of this title is not helpful, I identify the word as Aphai Ronarong, a military title of some importance.

(29) *Tiongh Maytiau Wangh* (Changmai changwang).

This word is puzzling and requires a stretch of imagination to identify it. As I think the conspirators were connected with the palace of the Second King this title may be Rit Ronachai (ฤทธิรงค์ชัย), the chief of the soldiers guarding the outer precincts of the palace of the Second King, the title in Siamese is ฤทธิรงค์ชัย เจ้ากรมล้อมวัง. The word Tiongh May may be Changmai (จามไม). The "o" being a misprint for "a". The word tiau Wangh may be Changwang. It is quite possible that the title Changwang in days of van Vliet may have been known as Chaowang (จาวัง). There is a Changwang Krom Changmai, the Chief of the Royal carpenters whose title is Katha wichan chamnong (กัฏฐวิจิตรงานช่าง). It is a curious fact that van Vliet when speaking of the fellowconspirators of Phra Ong Lai does not mention their rank which, to some extent, supports my theory that they belonged to the palace of the Second King.

(30) *Oya Ombrat* (Okya Uparat).

This title may be Okya Yomarat or Okya Maha Uparat. The latter is the more likely as I find that when van Vliet refers to Okya Yomarat he spells the word Iumerat or Immerat, the first "m" being a misprint for "u." The full title would be Okya Maha Uparat chat worawong ongphakdi bodinthon surintharadechochai mahaisuriphak saen ayathirat (ออกยามหาอุปราชชาติธรรมศาสตร์ องค์กำกับดินพระสุนทรเทศไชโยมหายสุริย์ภักดีแสนอาญาพิราช). It is possible that when speaking of this official in intimate terms that the word "Maha" was dropped. The title Maha Uparat was very important one.

(31) *Sompan Mon.* (Phan Ngoen พานเงิน).

Phra Ong Lai (Chamu'n Sri Sorarak, Sanphet?) had committed the heinous offence of conspiring to assassinate the two brothers of the King, for which he was imprisoned as an ordinary malefactor. He remained in jail for three years and was only released on the intercession of Okya Uparat with the King in order that he might

join the expedition being sent to crush the rebellion in Cambodia. On his return van Vliet tells us that "he was once more taken into the good graces of the King, who made him return to the court and honoured him with the rank of Sompan Meon." The crime committed by Phra Ong Lai against the brothers of the King was of such a diabolical nature as to be most unforgivable, and he was treated as a criminal of the worst type. This fact leads me to believe that Phra Ong Lai was degraded and his title taken from him. On his return from Cambodia he regained the King's favour and was given the rank of Sompan Meon. It is most difficult to identify this title. Phan Mu'n (พันหมื่น) would not be so difficult but what does the word Som mean which, according to my understanding, was not a title and van Vliet's system of orthography does not give us any clue. I do not think that this title or rank had anything to do with the Corps of Pages in which the rank of hua mu'n mahatlek (หัวหมื่นมหาดเล็ก) existed but not hua phanmu'n (หัวพันหมื่น), nor do I know of any Krom pan mu'n (กรมพันหมื่น). It may be that Phra Ong Lai was given a silver salver as the insignia of rank. If this is so the word "meon" should be "ngoen" meaning silver. Thus Phra Ong Lai may have been given a *phan ngoen* which the King frequently conferred on officials. I find there was a title *phan ngoen* (พันเงิน) held by the palat krom (ปลัดกรม) of the Krom Aphromratchyan (กรมอภิรมราชยาน). This Department had the duty of administering to the King's comfort by holding umbrellas to protect His Majesty from the sun during Royal processions. This may be the title.

(32) *Apra Marit* (Okphra Amorarit).

This may be the title Okphra Amorarit Thamrong (อมรฤทธิธำรง) or Amorarit Thada (อมรฤทธิธาดา). I think that the first title is the more likely as Amorarit Thamrong was generally an official of the Southern provinces. It has been suggested that this title may be the colloquial name for the Governor of Mergui which is called Marit in Siamese. I do not think this view can be upheld as Mergui did not fall within the jurisdiction of Nakhon Sri Thamarat. Mergui was under the direct control of Ayudhya. Moreover Apra Marit was a brother of the Governor of Ligor and resided in that territory.

(33) *Praongo Marit* (Phra Ong Amorarit).

This is undoubtedly the name of a Queen of King Song Tham. I

do not think the word here means black (and thus the black Queen), although many Princesses have been known as Phra Ong Dam owing to the darkness of their skin. I think the title is Phra Ong Amorarit (พระองค์อมรฤทธิ์), which would mean the Queen or Princess of Immortal Power. On the other hand, it may be Amarit (อมฤต) which word has much the same meaning.

(35) *Oya Ligor*, Oya Ligoor (Okya Nakhon).

This is Okya Nakhon Sri Thamarat whom all Europeans even up to recent time speak of as Okya or Phya Ligor.

(38) *Opera Soupa Pontrook* (Okphra Sakdapholarit).

This title as written by van Vliet is difficult to identify. I think the title must be Okphra Sakdapholarit (ออกพระศักดาพลฤทธิ์), a palat in the Krom Phra Suraswadi Sai (กรมพระสุรัสวดีซ้าย) in the palace of the Second King. This official was the Registrar of servicemen. There is also Sakpholarit (ศักดิ์พลฤทธิ์) of the same Department and Sakdapholarak (ศักดาพลรักษ์) an army title.

(39) *Iauphia* (Thao phya)

This term should be Thao phya (ท้าวพระยา) and not Iauphia. It is generally used to refer in a collective sense to high dignitaries both civil and military. The initial letter "i" is frequently used by van Vliet in the *Historical Account* and must be a misprint for "t".

(42) *Oya Siery*; *Oya Siery* (Okya Chakri).

This is probably Okya Chakri Sri Ongkharak (ออกญาจักรีศรีองครักษ์). This title is given a *sakdina* of 10,000 rai in the list of titles. Van Vliet tells us that Chakri was a title of one of the first dignitaries of the Kingdom. This dignitary had been Okya Yomarat and on his elevation to the title of Okya Chakri was accused of high treason and nearly lost his life. He was in prison and lost all his property. On release from prison he resumed his title of Okya Yomarat. This title Chakri does not seem to have been one of good omen, for we know that an officer holding this title played a sorry part in betraying his country in 1564-69. I do not mean that the title had fallen into disuse. This title continued to be used during the Ayudhyan dynasty and in the reign of King Tak (Sin) two officials were honoured with this title and created Chao Phya, i.e., raised to the highest rank in the official hierarchy of that reign.

(43) *Oya Rabasit* (Okya Ramasit).

In writing this title Rabasit, van Vliet, probably, followed colloquial usage. A "b" being frequently substituted for "m". The title is really Ramasit (รามสิทธี), and I think the holder was a Mon. There are two titles of this name in the official hierarchy, one Ramasit in the Krom Atmat Sai (กรมอาทมาศซ้าย) and the other Ramasitthison in the Krom Mahatthai (กรมมหาดไทย). I think the Ramasit referred to by van Vliet is the former. The Krom Atmat Sai was connected with the Intelligence Service of the army. Prince Damrong tells me that there is a reference to this Department in the History of the reign of King Phra Phutloedla of the Chakri dynasty (Page 297). The title still exists to-day.

(44) *Trackousa Tsibuli* (Phra Kosathibodi).

This official sent as an envoy to the King of Champa was undoubtedly Okphra Kosathibodi holding office in the ancient Krom Phra Khlang from which the present day Foreign Office sprang. This title became of some importance in the reign of King Narayana. I cannot find this title in this form in the list of the official hierarchy although it is mentioned in history. Kosathibodi forms part of the title of the great dignitary of State Sri Thamarat, etc., but this envoy to Champa can not be this high official.

(46) *Oya Pitterrasia* (Okya Phetracha).

This title was held by the official in charge of the Elephant Department. The full title is Phetrachathibodi Srisuriyapichatsuriya-wong ongsmuhaphrakhotchban (เพทราชทิบัตติศรีสุริยาวิชาติสุริยวงศ์ องค์สมุหพระคชบาล) and in ancient times had a *Sakdina* of 5,000 rai. An official holding this title played an important part in Siamese history at the close of the reign of King Narayana. Okphra Phetracha, having driven the French out of Siam and reinstated Siamese authority, ascended the throne himself. The title exists to-day.

(47) *Sabartiban* (Sombatthiban).

Van Vliet does not mention this title in his *Historical Account*, but it appears in the extracts from the *Record* I have quoted in Part seven. There are two possible explanations of this title. One that it refers to the head of a section of the Mohammedan Indian community in Ayudhya. In Burma this community is known as Zabadi and their children by Burmese mothers are not spoken of as Burmans but

as Zabadi. Indians of this community undoubtedly lived in Ayudhya as well as in Burma and it seems likely that their headman received this title. The official referred to in the Record was an Indian. Another explanation is that it is the title Sombatthiban (สมบัตินิบาล), head of Phra Khlang Nai Khwa, a department concerned with the collection of taxes and duties, and had a *sakdina* of 3,000 rai.

It is a matter for regret that no Siamese scholar has undertaken the task of writing the history of Siamese titles. The subject is not only interesting, but fascinating. It is doubtful whether any country in the world had developed such a perfect system for its official hierarchy. The *na* or land affords evidence of the responsibility of the appointment and the *Sakdi* or title affords immediate evidence of the duties of the official. All the titles are Sanskrit and a large number have been adopted from the Mahabharata, a few from the Ramayana and all have been adopted to the genius of Siamese thought. The few explanations I have attempted to give above may not be in all cases correct for the whole subject requires not only study but profound exploration. For this reason I crave the indulgence of the reader for any acts of omission or commission.

Appendix.

In Part Seven of this paper will be found translations of letters which passed between the Courts of Siam and Japan. These letters were addressed to Japanese officials holding different offices in the Government of the country. It adds to the interest of the subject if we know who these Japanese officials were. Mr. Amada of His Imperial Japanese Majesty's Legation has most kindly given me an explanation, and I quote the relevant passages:

(1) *Honda Kozukenosuke Fujiwara no Masasumi.*

Honda—the family name.

Kozukenosuke—Title of a position equivalent to the governor of Kozuke province.

This title was originally given to the Governor of that Province, but later on given often to high war-lords without regard to whether they were actually governing that province or not.

Fujiwara—Name of the great family. The native Japanese, viz., excluding Ainu and naturalized Koreans and Chinese, are said to have been originally belonging to the four great families—(1) Fujiwara, (2) Tachibana, (3) Minamoto and (4) Taira; the first one being the oldest and most closely related to the Imperial Family, (to which the present Prime Minister Prince Konoye belongs, while the Amada family belongs to the Minamoto).

No—of.

Masasumi—Personal name or same as a christian name.

The name of Honda is commonly understood to come from the name of a village. The ancestor of the Honda family, of course a descendant of the Fujiwara, settled down at the village named Honda and assumed the village-name as his surname in order to distinguish his family from other members of the Fujiwara. From the above explanation the name of (1) will be: Mr. Honda Masasumi, a descendant of the Fujiwara Family, the Governor of Kozuke Province.

(2) *Doi Oinokami* or *Doi Oinokami Fujiwara Toshikazu* was the same war-lord so far as this case is concerned.

Doi—Name of a family belonging to the Fujiwara.

Oinokami—Title of a position originally given to a certain post in the Imperial Household or to a high rank in the Imperial Bodyguard in the older days when the Shogunate had not come into being. But later on as in the case of Kozukenosuke, this title was often given to war-lords under the Shogun in the recognition of their distinguished

service. The surname of Doi is also understood to come from the name of Doi village where the ancestor of this family lived.

(3) *Sakai Utanokami Fujiwara Tadayo.*

Sakai—Surname of a family belonging to the Fujiwara.

Utanokami—Originally was a title of a position in the Imperial Household, commonly understood as equivalent to "Head of the Bureau of Court Music". This title was given only to that Head before the Shogunate era, but later on given often to war-lords under the Shogun.

Tadayo—Personal name

Sakai Utanokami Fujiwara Tadayo then means: Sakai Tadayo, a descendant of the Fujiwara, the Head of the Bureau of Court Music.

(4) *Itakura Suonokami Minamoto no Ason Shigemune.*

This war-lord is the same man as Itakura Shigemune if it is the name appearing in the records regarding Yamada Nagamasa. I venture to suggest that the name written in Part seven as สุกโงโนกามิ should be สุกโงโนกามิ and ชินมุนเน or ฉินมุนเน should be ชินมุนเน.

Itakura—Surname of a family belonging to the Minamoto.

Suonokami—Governor of the province of Suo. This title, as in the case of Kozukenosuke, was given only to the Governor of that province, but later on often given to war-lords as a reward.

No—Of.

Ason—Literally means an Imperial Court Officer.

Shigemune—Personal name.

Itakura Suonokami Minamoto No Ason Shigemune—Itakura Shigemune, the Governor of Suo, Court Officer belonging to the Minamoto family. (This war-lord was the Shogun's representative staying at Kyoto, then the place of residence of the Imperial Household).

Honda, Doi and Sakai were the Shogun's highest Councillors, while Itakura was a little lower in rank than the former three.

Well, a question may be raised as to the reason why a nominal title should be given without regard to whether a recipient of that title was actually an occupant of the post or not. Every Government official had his own court rank according to his official post. The Court Rank is divided into 8 ranks from the 1st to the 8th, each rank being subdivided into "jo" the First grade, and "ju" the Second

grade. In ancient days titles of the Govermental or Imperial Household officials had also their own court ranks. Therefore if any warlord was given some nominal title then he had the right to be treated in the Imperial Court according to the rank attached to that title. Only officials or warlords having court rank could be admitted to the Imperial Court. This was a great honour even to war-lords under the Shogun. These various nominal titles were existing until the Meiji Restoration.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

โบราณวัตถุสถานในสยามภาค ๒ และ ๓—หลวงบริบาลบุริบhand เรียบเรียง

Antiquities and ancient sites in Siam,

2nd and 3rd part by

Luang Boribal Buribhand

90 pages, 21 illustrations, Bangkok, 1934 & 1936.

The above-mentioned two parts constitute the continuation and conclusion of Luang Boribal Buribhand's *Siamese Archaeology*, part 1 of which has already been reviewed in the columns of the *Journal of the Siam Society*.⁽¹⁾ These two parts treat of Siamese art and architecture during the periods of Chiengsaen, Sukhothai and Ayudhya, and Bangkok. In the following review a brief mention of the contents of these parts accompanied by a few critical remarks will be given. Before doing so the writer of these notes would, however, like to plead not guilty on his own part at least to the charge against certain European writers preferred by Luang Vichitr Vadakarn, the Secretary General of the Royal Institute.

The Khun Luang says in his preface to the third part of Luang Boribal's *Archæology* that prior to the conquest of Siam by the Khmer (and Môn) the Thai were not at all a barbarian people, as European writers like to pretend when they compare the Khmer empire to ancient Rome and the Thai to the Germanic barbarians who destroyed the classic civilisation. Students who are acquainted with the history of the Thai nation, especially the period of the Nan Chao empire, which perhaps represents the climax of Thai power, will, of course, not subscribe to the appellation of Barbarians to the Thai. According to Chinese chroniclers the Thai of the Nan Chao empire were a civilised people with an elaborate civil and military organization

(1) JSS, Vol. XXIX, part 2, pp. 162-168.

and, what shows the high stage of their social status, woman was free and respected, in glaring contrast to her despised and down-trodden position in contemporary civilized China. Luang Boribal takes the opportunity to include a brief sketch of the antecedents of the Thai people, their age-long wars of defence against the ever-encroaching Chinese and their subsequent migrations southwards into the present Shan states and Tongking and the seizure of what is now called Sib Song Panna and Sib Song Chu Thai (the word Chu is evidently a corruption of Chao, *i.e.*, the land of the twelve Thai chiefs).

The ancestors of the Thai of the Menam Plain and N. E. Siam seem all to have come from the north-east when King Phrom of Sib Song Chu Thai and his successors extended the Thai dominion over what is now French Laos, including the Mekhong valley with the old Khmer cities of Luang Phrabang and Viengchandr, as well as Northern Udorn and right over westwards to Petchabun and Chalieng (old Savankaloke). As a result of the Thai successes against the Khmer and Môn in the 13th century three strong Thai states emerged, viz., Lan Nā Thai embracing the ancient Yonok of North Siam, Lan Nā Chang with its capital in Viengchandr, and Siam with its capital at Sukhothai. Chiengsaen was founded in A.D. 1328 by King Saen Phu of Chiangmai, and here developed during the 14th century the well known school of art which is characterized by the very fine images of the Buddha. The likeness in style of the Buddha images of Chiengsaen with those of contemporary Nakhon Srithammarat, due to their common inspiration of the Pāla art (of the 8th-12th century), has already been treated of in the review of Luang Boribal's book on the Phra Sihing image.

The oldest monument in North Siam is Wat Chedi Chet Yot lying on the plain west of Chiangmai on the site of the old Môn town, Mu'ang Maeraming. The style is that of Bodh Gaya, and Luang Boribal thinks that the great Burmese conqueror, King Aniruddha (in the 11th century), may have been instrumental in building it. This temple was restored 300 years later by the staunch leader of the Thai Yuan of Lan Nā Thai, King Dilokrajā. There is, however, no actual proof that King Aniruddha ever conquered North Siam, so this monument may as well be due to the Môn of the Hariphunchai kingdom (Lamphun) who copied it from that in Pagān, which itself constitutes a copy of the actual Bodh Gaya temple. Most of the temples in North Siam have been "repaired" so many times that

they would not be recognized if now seen by their original builders. The few still fine monuments go back to the time of the great temple repairer King Dilokrajā (1442-1477), during whose reign Ceylonese art and religious culture dominated. In our days many, far too many, of the oldest and finest religious monuments in the North have been spoiled by zealous but ignorant monkish "architects," chief among them being the renowned Phra Srivichai.

Happily the Government has now stepped in and forbidden such "restorations" without the permission of the Royal Institute. Though the author does not say so, it seems reasonable to suppose that the Buddha image of the North (besides being influenced by Pāla art) must have taken certain features from the Môn art of Lamphun which no doubt represented an offshoot of the Dvāravati art of Lophburi. From the beginning of the 16th century, when the Burmese got the upperhand in North Siam, oppressing its population for more than 200 years, their style in temples, *chedis* and even in the images is clearly perceived. This Burmese influence was not for the good, the Northern Thai art degenerated into what was called "Lao" images and "Lao" *chedis*. The style of the Buddha images of Lān Nā Chāng must surely first of all have been influenced by Khmer art and next by that of Lān Nā Thai. Though a few fine examples may be found, the style of the images of this part of the Thai dominions is generally rather poor and inartistic.

To his treatment of Chiengsaen art Luang Boribal adds an interesting note on the coinage used during that period. He mentions the canoe-shaped coins of the Mekhong valley called Ngo'n Hāng, Tu, Hoi and Thong Lāt, both of silver and copper, which were used from Luang Phrabang in the north to Djampassak in the south, from the oldest times of the Thai occupation to quite recently. The smallest exchange was, as all over this part of the world, the cowrie shell. In Lān Nā Thai another kind of coinage was used, called Ngo'n Chieng, Kha or Kha Khim which was originally produced by pressing together the two halves of a Chinese silver bracelet. Besides these coinage silver bars were also used, as they still are to-day in the interior of China, where smaller change is produced by cutting bits off such bars.⁽¹⁾

(1) For more detailed description of the various Thai coinage see Dr. R. S. le May's standard work "The Coinage of Siam," as well as Dr. Kneedlers' "The Coins of North Siam," JSS., vol. XXIX, pt. 1.

The conquest of the Nan Chao kingdom in 1254 by the armies of the great Kubilai Khan was indirectly the cause of the Thai uprising against their Khmer overlords and the foundation of the first independent Thai kingdom in Siam proper, about A. D. 1257.⁽¹⁾ The liberty-loving Thai of Nan Chao would not accept the Chinese rule and they emigrated southwards to the settlements of their brethren in Lân Nā Chāng. Thus reinforced the Thai dared revolt against the Great king in Angkhor Thom with the result that soon after not only most of the central and southern parts of the present kingdom of Siam became parts of the realm of the Ruang dynasty but the entire Malay peninsula, down to Johore and Malacca, became vassal to Siam.

We are not going to follow the author in his narrative about the two Thai vassals who united to overthrow the Khmer power nor in what finally happened to the Ruang dynasty as the hitherto accepted theories which are due to the learned research work by Professor George Cœdès is at present being taken up for critical revision by two of our own *érudits*, namely, Phya Indra Montri (Mr. F. H. Giles) and Phya Nakhon Phra Ram,⁽²⁾ so much the more as the title of Luang Boribal's books is Siamese Archaeology and not Siamese History.

The sacred architecture of Sukhothai and Savankaloke belong both to the Brahmanic and Buddhistic religion. The first one is represented by various *prangs* or *prasuts* in both of these cities and elsewhere. Necessarily Khmer architecture must have influenced the new born Thai architecture of the Sukhothai era very much. With regard to the most important class of Buddhist architecture:—the *phra chedis*, Luang Boribal divides them into three types: the true Sukhothai *chedi*, the Ceylonese *chedi* and a type evolved through a mixture of the Ceylonese and the Srivijaya *chedi*. The so-called pure Sukhothai *chedi* should, according to His Royal Highness Prince Damrong, have come to Siam from China to which country King Ramakhamheng is said to have made two voyages. This contention of the venerable learned prince is, however, open to grave doubts after Phya Nakhon Phra Ram has shown that the manufacture of

(1) This date may now be challenged by Mr. F. H. Giles in his forthcoming book on the history of the Sukhothai kingdom.

(2) When this was written Phya Nakhon Phra Ram was still with us; he has since died. His death was a sad loss to historical research work in this country.

pottery in old Siam was done by Thai long before there were any kilns at Savankaloke. We may go so far as to doubt that the Chinese were at all the inventors of glazed pottery. Several students of our day are coming more and more to the conclusion that the highly civilized and powerful Chu, which for hundreds of years was the rival of the Chinese Chou dynasty, represent the ancient Thai who may very well have invented the glazed pottery. The story of King Ramakhamheng leaving his country twice to make prolonged visits to the Chinese courts and bringing Chinese potters back with him has always seemed suspect to us. It seems more than improbable that a king in those turbulent days should dare to leave his country for such long periods. Think only of the long and perilous voyage by sea in a clumsy junk of those far off days—and then come safely back again to find his throne and the allegiance of his people intact? No! the story of King Ramakhamheng's voyages to China and the potters he brought back with him belong most probably to the world of fairy tales. The truth is that the potters of Savankaloke were Thai who came down from Lān Nā Thai. We do not therefore believe that the true Sukhothai *chedi* was modelled on a Chinese pattern. More comparative study of that particular form with contemporary *stupas* in Burma would most likely give us the key to its true origin. The *chedis* in Ceylonese style were probably not direct copies of those in Langka Dvipa but were brought to the Thai of Siam from the Môn country in Burma via the Môn principality of Lamphun. One misses in this book of Luang Boribal a description in the architectural sense of the various monuments enumerated. Instead of being a work on archaeology, as it should be, it has become more of a history of Buddhism and of Siam. There are too few technicalities. One would like to have heard something of the evolution of the *stupa* or *chedi*. How did the spire evolve for instance? Are the rings, still seen in the Ayudhya *chedis*, not representing the tiers of umbrellas of the original *stupas* in India? We believe so. Also the origin of the many tiered roofs and their carved *cho fās*; the trapezoid shape of the frames of the windows and doors of the *bōts* and *viharns*; the transformation of the Khmer tower into the solid Siamese *prang*; these and many more architectural details should have been treated and an attempt to solve the question of their origin and development have been made. In speaking about the third class of *chedis* of old Sukhothai—Savankaloke Luang Boribal thinks that this originated from

a blending of Ceylonese and Srivijaya styles using the cubic base of Srivijaya and the drum and spire of Ceylon. The niches containing Buddha images or being empty are also a Ceylonese trait (as seen in Wat Kukut in Lamphun).

The Buddha images of the Sukhothai era Luang Boribal divides into three types exemplified respectively by the images of Phra Attharos (the gigantic standing image in the viharn of Wat Sraket, Bangkok); Phra Ruang (the other gigantic standing image now seen in the northern viharn in Phrapathomchedi) and finally the Phra Buddha Chinaraaj and Chinasi (the first is still in situ in Wat Maha That in Pitsanuloke with a copy installed in Wat Benchamabopit, Bangkok). The faces of these images are different in character; in the first type they are round, copying the Singhalese images; in the second the faces are long. Of this second type more images were made than any other type. Luang Boribal thinks the type originated during King Phra Maha Thammaraja Lithai's reign. The third type has oval faces and no doubt represents the finest and highest development in Siamese art. Only few images were made with the noble features of the Phra Buddha Chinaraaj.

It must, however, be added that already during the Sukhothai era the stiff and unnatural characterized the Siamese images. This became even worse in the later Ayudhyan schools, if they may be called so. The idea of making all the fingers of equal length; the too projecting heels; the too long arms; the enormous upholstered shoulders all go to make these images very ugly and anatomically speaking faulty to a degree. To begin with, the Thai of Sukhothai tried to make stone images, of which a few are left, this they gave up soon and went in for casting metal images, an art in which they, as well as the Ayudhya Thai, proved very skilful indeed. Famous are the two walking bronze Buddhas now in the gallery of Wat Benchamabopit (mentioned in my review of Monsieur J. G. Claeys' "L'Archeologie du Siam" in JSS., Vol. XXVII, Pt. 1, 1933, p. 120) which though not beautiful in anyway show the attempt of the Thai to produce something original of their own, as they so far had *created* nothing in art or architecture, perhaps with the exception of their glazed pottery and their beautiful tiered roofs. The so-called Phra Prathān, i.e., the Buddha image built up of bricks and plaster is also a Thai product, most probably a copy of certain Khmer images which were constructed in a like manner but of fashioned sand stone.

The majority of the Buddha images seen in the temples of Bangkok such as Wat Sraket; Suthat; Chetuphon (Poh); Bovornivet; Benchamabophit and Mahathat to name the most important ones, hail from old ruined temples in Sukhothai, Savankaloke, Phitsanuloke, Kamphengphet, Lophburi, Ayudhya and Phetchaburi among others besides from Chiengsaen.

The two famous images, viz; Phra Kaeo Morakot and Phra Sihing are of course not of Thai handicraft. As far as we can surmise they both of them were made in Ceylon and go back to the 12th century A. D. The foot prints of the Buddha as well as the votive tablets of clay, metal or wax (Phra Phim) were well known during the Sukhothai era. Both of these forms for adoration of the great Sage from Benares hail from India. Of special interest are the many fine standing cast bronze images of Indian deities made by the Thai of Sukhothai-Kamphengphet down to as late as the beginning of the 16th century A. D., of which quite a number have been saved and are now exhibited in the large Hall of Honour in the National Museum. A rather unique collection, we think, and probably one of the finest at least east of Suez and of which Siam may be legitimately proud.

Luang Boribal also mentions Phra Thaen Manangsila, the stone on which sat good King Ramakhamheng, this patriarchal prince, when he received all and sundry, from the highest to the lowest of his subjects in audience. This famous stone is now a part of the royal throne and may thus be likened to the other famous stone of Scone, which is part of the British King-Emperor's coronation chair. The coinage of Sukhothai, as well as the famous porcelain from the kilns of Savankaloke, is also briefly treated by Luang Boribal, but for fuller information one ought to read the publications on those matters by such experts as Dr. R. S. le May and the late Phya Nakhon Phra Ram. Part III of Luang Boribal's *Archæology* is the least interesting, not due to any faults of the author, but because the forms of art and architecture during the 417 years of Ayudhya's existence as capital of Siam as a matter of fact offers little in the way of innovations from what the Thai had already produced during the Sukhothai and the Chiengsaen eras and certainly nothing which constituted a real improvement. The reason for this stagnation must be sought in the almost incessant wars fought first with Cambodia and then with Burma. While the wars and intercourse with the latter did not bring much in the way of cultural

elements to Siam, it was otherwise as regards Cambodia. When the Thai of the Menam plain by the middle of the 13th century cast off the yoke of the Khmer they were already strongly mixed with both Môn and Khmer blood, customs and manners. As a result of the long and successful wars with Cambodia, great numbers of Khmer captives were brought over to and settled in Siam at such places as Rajaburi; Bān Khamen in Nakhon Chaisri; Ayudhya and other places too.

This influx no doubt was responsible for an increased number of Khmer words being incorporated in what we to-day call King's Siamese, besides many ideas hitherto foreign to the Thai of the Menam valley. It also no doubt influenced the administrative system and machinery of the Ayudhya state and altered the whole conception of kingship. From being benevolent patriarchal rulers, to whom the broad populace had direct access, the kings now became divine beings and often cruel masters who no longer treated their subjects as children but as slaves. Such a form of social order might also influence the arts and discourage the free development of creative idea and artistic progress.

From the architectural point of view Luang Boribal divides the Ayudhya era into four periods. The first lasted 141 years from 1350 to 1491 from the foundation of Ayudhya as capital to the end of the reign of King Phra Boroma Trailokanart, and is characterized by the *prangs* built during that period, such as those at Wat Putthaisawan; Wat Phra Ram; Wat Maha That and Wat Rajaburana, all in Ayudhya, and the great *prangs* in Suphanburi and at Wat Mahathat in Phitsanuloke. Their model is said to have been the Khmer *prasat* tower of Wat Mahathat in Lophburi.

The next period spans over 140 years, from 1491 to 1630, this is the era of *stupas* or *chedis* such as in Wat Sri Sanphet; *Chedi Yai* or Wat Chaophraya Thai at Ayudhya and the famed *chedi* at Dorn Chedi, where the national hero Phra Naresuan Maharaja won his brilliant victory, on an elephant's back, over the Crown Prince of Burma. The *chedi* of this period are built on Ceylonese lines.

The third period lasted 102 years, from 1630 to 1732, it is characterized by a return to the building of *prangs* following the Cambodian style such as Wat Chai Watthanaram in Ayudhya and Phra Nakhon Luang on the banks of Menam Sak, between Ayudhya and Thā Rūa. The *chedi* of Wat Chumpon Nikayaram at Bang Pa In also belongs

to this period. During this time were also constructed the many buildings and fortresses in Bangkok, Ayudhya and especially in Lophburi which are due to the handiwork of French engineer officers in the service of King Narayana the Great. These engineers also built the city walls of Khorat or Nakhon Rajasima. The fourth and last period covers the space between 1732 and the tragic downfall of Ayudhya "the incomparable" brought about by the wanton and cruel Burmese in 1767. Luang Boribal says that this last period is characterized by the care and thoroughness with which all work is carried out. It was mainly a period of restoration of ruined or delapidated temples, even the ancient Wat Mahathat in Savankaloke benefitted by this zeal for repairs. No new styles were introduced with the exception of certain details of ornament. The author also gives a long list of the royal palaces and residences of Ayudhya, Lophburi and Phra Nakhon Luang but, as usual, without any architectural details. We may add that the present fine building, called Phra Thinang Dusit Maha Prasat in the Grand Palace compound, is said to be an exact copy of a palace of the same name in Ayudhya of which now only a few broken stones are left. The palace called Phra Thinang Chandraphisal, which to-day houses the Lophburi Museum, is also said to represent the original building in all its exterior details.

Speaking on the art forms of the Ayudhya era Luang Boribal says these included images of the Buddha; Boddhisatvas; preaching chairs; book cases; book chests and palm leaf manuscripts. Images of the Buddha of metal and of stone must have been produced by hundreds of thousands during the four hundred odd years of Ayudhya's existence as capital of Siam. Besides Ayudhya, Lophburi must have been a great centre and workshop of Buddhist images both in stone and metal. Famous are the Phra Nāk Prok or the Buddha enthroned on the Nāga of Lophburi handiwork (not mentioned by the author).

The oldest school was, however, the Uthong whose finely executed bronze images still show the marked influence of the Khmer. This foreign influence, if one may use such an expression, lasted till the end of the reign of Phra Boroma Trailokanart. After that time the Sukhothai style became the dominating one till the Bangkok era commenced—with the exception of the period during the reigns of King Prasat Thōng and Narayana (1630-88) when the Cambodian style and the working in stone was encouraged again.

Typical examples of the Buddha images of the second period are the gigantic bronze statue of Phra Mongkol Bopitr in Ayudhya and the image now contained in the Eastern Viharn of Wat Chetuphon (Pho) in Bangkok. Wall paintings also belong to the Ayudhya period though we are not sure that there may not also have been frescoes on the walls of the now ruined temples of Sukhothai, Savankaloke and Kamphengphet. Whether this form of art was inspired by the cave paintings of Ajanta, as opined by Dr. Quaritch Wales, seems still somewhat doubtful. Remains of the wall pictures from the Ayudhya period are still seen in Wat Yai, Petchaburi; in Wat Maha That Mu'ang Thung Yang at Uttaradit and in the inner chamber of the great chedi in Wat Srisanphet, Ayudhya. The concluding chapter of the 3rd part of Luang Boribal's *Archæology* treats of the palaces and temples of Bangkok. As already said in our former review we think that such buildings are of too recent a date to enter the cadre of an archaeology and we shall therefore refrain from including this last chapter in our review. If one might be allowed to utter a wish it is this:—That Luang Boribal, who is not at all an unpromising writer, may, in a near future, find time to revise and complete this book of his. Our advice is to leave out all that of the history of Buddhism and of Siam which is not strictly necessary and instead add a much fuller *technical* description of the various monuments. By doing so we are sure that a much more satisfactory work could be produced, replacing the present somewhat sketchy pamphlets.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, April 1937.

ROBERT LINGAT—*L'Influence Indoue dans l'ancien droit siamois*. Les Editions Domat-Montchrestien, Paris, 29 pages.

Monsieur Robert Lingat, Doctor of Law, Judge of the Supreme Court of Siam and a Vice-President of the Siam Society, who is well known by his learned work on *L'esclavage privé dans le vieux droit siamois*, which most probably will become the standard work on that subject, has written a very interesting and instructive pamphlet treating Hindu influence in the ancient Siamese laws.

The author says that we know fairly well the contents of the ancient Siamese laws, *i.e.*, the laws which were in force during the

Ayudhya period, thanks to a code compiled in 1805. Some of them are still in force even to-day. A study of these laws shows that certain parts of them go back to the very beginning of the kingdom of Siam. It has already long ago been noted that the old Siamese laws as published in the Code of 1805, bear a clear imprint of Hindu influence, so for instance with regard to slaves of which this code recognizes seven different classes, the same number as given in the Laws of Manu. Further that the interest on loans may not exceed the amount of the capital besides many other concordances proving the near relationship between the ancient Laws of Siam and the Code of Manu.

The learned historian H. R. H. Prince Damrong fully endorses these views, but he ascribes them to a quite recent origin namely the conquest of Siam by the Burmese king Bureng Naung during the years 1569 to 1584. Mr. Wood, author of the excellent "A History of Siam," agrees with Prince Damrong, and the Siamese jurists have also adopted the views of His Royal Highness.

The author goes against the fixing of such a recent date for the introduction of the Hindu inspired laws of Siam and argues that the origin of the *Dharmaçastra* or Code inspired by the Laws of Manu is to be sought at a very much earlier date. His arguments are weighty and convincing. First of all why should the Burmese, in whose country the Laws of Manu were in force, impose such laws on the Siamese? The Burmese had at that time a rich legal literature such as *Dhammasatthams* composed in Pali or in their own language modelled on Indian *Dharmaçastras*. If they desired to impose on their vassals a new code of laws it would probably have been one of their own *Dhammasatthams*.

But even then it is not probable that the Siamese, once they had freed themselves from the yoke of their oppressors, would have retained a foreign law forced upon them.

Present day archaeological research work assists us, however, in arriving at another and more satisfactory solution.

After having explained briefly the contents of the introduction to the *Dharmaçastra* or Phra Thammasât, Mr. Lingat points out that the Pali *gāthās* expressly state that this code in a *Môn* version came from Ramaññadesa to Siam where it was finally translated into Siamese. It therefore follows that the Siamese have never known the Hindu version of the *Dharmaçastra* but only its Môn version.

At the time of the Burmese conquest of Siam the Rāmaññadesa or Môn kingdom of Lower Burma had long ago been absorbed by the Burmese. It is not probable either that the victorious Burmese should have forced a Môn code on the Siamese vassals. Thanks to the penetrating studies undertaken by Professor G. Cœdès we now know that about the 8th century A. D. there existed two large Môn kingdoms in Siam, a southern, embracing the Menam plain with its capital at Lophburi and, provisionally, called Dvaravati, and a northern, embracing most of the territory of the former monthons of Payab and Maharasthra with its capital at Hariphunchai or Lamphūn. The first of these kingdoms was conquered by the Khmer in the beginning of the 11th century. The Khmer, however, did not suppress the Môn civilisation and the Môn continued to profess their national religion, the Hinayana form of Buddhism.

The Thai immigrants, who entered the Menam plain (from the north-east), came on slowly and by degrees absorbed the aboriginal population, chiefly Môn, thereby being strongly influenced by their high culture.

It is well known that the Môn possessed a brilliant civilisation (probably prior to that of the Khmer). The Môn of Lower Burma, with their capital at Hamsavati, lost their independence for the first time in 1057 A. D. when the Burmese king Anuruddha conquered them, but it was *their* cultural gifts and old civilisation which transformed the rude barbarous Burmese into civilized men, and Pagān's splendid temples were also no doubt built by Môn architects and craftsmen. (It is not an exaggeration to state that the bulk of the population of Southern Burma to-day consists of Burmese speaking Môn; while in Siam, up to the time when the wholesale immigration of Chinese began, the population must have been 50% Môn plus a very strong infusion of Khmer blood. The present Môn population of Siam is not the descendants of the "Dvaravati" Môn but later comers, prisoners of war or fugitives from Burmese oppression. Their exact number is not known but the people *speaking* Môn do not probably exceed 40-50,000 individuals). There is Môn blood in the Royal family of Siam and many of its most distinguished soldiers and civil servants have been and are of Môn origin. It seems certain that, at the time the Thai entered the Menam valley, the Môn domiciled there already possessed a written code of laws whose origin was in India. The Siamese *Dharmaçastra* or *Phra Thammasāt* is a Môn *Tham-*

masatham, which because of its Buddhist character was easily adopted by the Thai immigrants. It is thus incontestable that the Hindu influence in the ancient Siamese laws was due to Môn intermediary.

M. Lingat's arguments for a Môn origin of the *Dharmaçastra* are much strengthened by the discovery (in 1930) of an inscribed stela in Sukhothai giving a part of this code. The date is 1344 A. D., during the reign of King Lo'thai. It seems therefore more than likely that Ayudhya received its *Phra Thammasāt* from Sukhothai.

The *Dharmaçastras* are, of course, not real codes in the modern sense but rather natural laws or directives and are supposed to originate from half divine persons or *rishis* and must be studied in connection with the Vedas. As the Môn were Buddhists by religion, and not Brahmanists, their jurists, most of them monks, had to transform the *Dharmaçastra* into a Buddhist inspired code in which there was no place either for Brahmasvayambhu, the self-existing supreme Being, or Manu.

Besides the *Dharmaçastra* there existed both in old Burma and old Siam collections of laws called *Rajaçastras* or Royal commandments, but while the *Dharmaçastras* continued to be valid during the shifting reigns the *Rajaçastras* automatically ceased to exercise any power at the death of that particular king who had issued them.

The *Rajaçastra* was in fact a complement to the *Dharmaçastra*.

M. Lingat concludes his lucid and penetrating study of the old Siamese laws by aptly comparing the influence of the Hindu codes with that exercised by the Roman Law in Europe.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, 15th April, 1938.

H. MARCHAL—*Banteay Srei*—Edition A. Messner, Saigon, 20 pages, 19 illustrations and 1 plan.

Banteay Srei (the beautiful fortress), or to call it by its ancient name Içvarapura (Śiva's town), is a small but exquisitely decorated stone temple which lies in the great forest 25 kilometres to the north-east of Angkor Thom.

It was built in the year 967 A.D., just one year before Jayavarman V. ascended the throne of Cambodia.

This temple is unique in the sense that it has been possible to reconstruct it entirely, or at least so the central part of it, in such a way that it gives one a perfect impression of what the Khmer temples were really like about a thousand years ago. The author rightly deplores that a great number of the finest temples of the Khmer have suffered so much either by the elements of nature, sun, rain and wind or by the vandalism of man. The partial destruction of the former imposing central tower of the temple standing on the top of Phnom Bakheng (near the southern gate of Angkor Thom and formerly the centre of the capital preceding Angkor Thom) is thus due to Buddhist monks. Though Banteay Srei is small compared with so many other temples in the formerly extensive Khmer empire it has this advantage that it shows us an architectural composition of great beauty with all its finely sculptured details almost intact.

The temple consists of a central courtyard on which stand three towers, the middle one preceded by a kind of antechamber, two so-called libraries, really places of worship also, surrounded by a triple enceinte. In the courtyard, between the second and first, or innermost enceinte, are the remains of 6 buildings the purpose of which is not mentioned. The second and third enceinte are separated by a broad moat and access to the temple is from the east through a long alley, flanked by galleries, which leads through a *gopura* in the outmost enceinte over a *chaussée* to the *gopura* of the second enceinte. The dimensions of the three sanctuaries are small, thus the central sanctuary reaches a height of 9 m. 80 only, but on the other hand the exquisite workmanship distinguishes this temple to such a degree that it may without exaggeration be called the jewel among the temples of Cambodia. The summits of the three towers are fashioned in the likeness of *kalaças* or the vases containing the symbolic water. (The general rule is, we believe, that the tops of the sanctuaries are crowned with a lotus flower's bud).

The temple was dedicated to Siva as several lingas were found and the bas-reliefs are decorated with scenes representing mythological episodes from the life of the Brahmanic gods.

Some years before the archæological service started the restoration of the temple two Europeans most impudently detached three sculp-

tures representing *tevdadas*. Fortunately the theft was discovered in time and the sculptures saved and are now in their original place. (We believe that this theft is described by one of the perpetrators in a novel called *La voie royale* written by André Malraux!) One of the elements of sculpture, which adorn the temple and which is rarely met with in Cambodia, but known in Java, is that of Kāla biting an elephant's head. M. Marchal ingeniously remarks that this Ogre's head (Kāla) no doubt in the beginning played a prophylactic or magic rôle but later on developed into a purely decorative motif. (See also M. Marchal's *Des influences étrangères dans l'art et la civilisation Khmèrs*, reviewed in my *A Note on the archæological aspect of Rev. Dr. S. G. McFarland's Account of his visit to Angkor Wat in 1872* in JSS. vol. XXX, Part 1, pp. 51-55). On the terraces on which the towers rest one sees several human figures sitting à la javanaise (*i.e.*, kneeling with one knee on the ground) some of which have ogres' heads and one a typical negro's head. The latter points of course to the existence of the negroid elements in the Khmer people formerly mentioned by me.

It is also to be noted that while the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat and Bayon often show a clumsy and confused execution those of Banteay Srei are all of them executed carefully and in a true and happy artistic manner. The heavenly dancers depicted on the bas-reliefs of Bantray Srei wear a long skirt in contrast to the apsaras of Angkor Wat and Bayon who are clothed in excessively short garments.

In other words the art of Banteay Srei is superior to that of the age of Angkor Wat and Bayon two hundred years later.

The merit of having reconstructed Banteay Srei is due to M. Marchal and the reconstruction of this temple may be called his masterpiece. Such reconstruction work is called in French *anastylose*, and it consists of rebuilding a ruined temple by help of its own material and using, when it is justified, new material to replace old, which has disappeared, in a discreet manner. Similar methods have been used with great success by Dutch archæologists (from whom M. Marchal learnt them) in Java, for instance at the restoration of the famous Prambanam temple.

We have here in Siam a great number of splendid ancient Khmer temples which could easily be restored by the above mentioned method, and it is to be hoped that the responsible authorities will take

this matter in hand before it becomes too late. This would of course involve the sending out and training up of young Siamese archaeologists preferably under French tutorship.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, 17th April, 1938.

SOME NOTES ON THE ECONOMIC AND AGRICULTURAL LIFE of a little known tribe on the eastern frontier of India by Tarak Chandra Das, Lecturer in Anthropology, Calcutta University.

The above notes, which were published in *Anthropos*, Vol. XXXII, 1937, have been forwarded by their author to the Editor of the Siam Society with the request for a review.

The tribe in question is the Chiru and belongs to the Old Kuki Group. Mr. T. C. Das' notes should be read in conjunction with Lt. Colonel J. Shakespear's excellent book *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, published as far back as in 1912, but still, as far as the reviewer's knowledge goes, a kind of standard work on these Tibeto-Burmese peoples.

The Chirus, who live in Manipur State, Assam, are not numerous, being less than 1,300 in number who speak their own tongue.

They are essentially an agricultural people, other occupations such as hunting, fishing or the gathering of edible fruits and roots playing a secondary role.

The Chirus use cattle and buffaloes for the ploughing of their paddy fields and rear also pigs and fowls together with Mithun, a domesticated species of wild ox (*Bos frontalis*), the latter three kinds of animals being used for spirit sacrifices.

Trade is very little developed and all necessities such as clothing and implements are manufactured by themselves—their women spinning and weaving all the cloth used by the community. There are two different methods of cultivation: The valley or plain land, and the *jlhum* or hill cultivation which corresponds to our *rai* cultivation in Siam. The settlement on the plains seems, however, not to suit these people who are ingrained hill people.

Both sexes take almost equal part in the operations of the fields, with the exception that women are not allowed to handle the plough and the leveller. The *jlhum* fields do not belong to individual householders, the right of property being vested in the village community.

Moreover, if any plot is allowed to lie fallow, any other household may clear and cultivate it. We believe that a similar state of things at least formerly held good among the Thai Gao and Thai Vieng of North East Siam.

As no hired labour is obtainable in Chiru land several households or families join forces when the fields are to be prepared and the paddy planted. They help one another in turn until the whole work is finished. The individual owners do not pay any wages to the helpers but supply them with food and drink. This is exactly the same custom as we have among our Siamese peasants.

The Chiru villages are small, none of them possessing more than 40 households. Increase in population leads to the establishment of new villages due to the individualistic turn of the Chiru mind, which has also bred an extreme democratic spirit in their social and political life.

The Lushei Kuki tribes still possess the bachelor house, an institution which is found as far east as among Melanesians, Papuans and Polynesians.

The custom of marriage by service is also still in force, a custom well-known among certain Thai and Hill tribes in French Indochina. The author says that the bachelor house, marriage by service and the common property of *Jhum* land all go to maintain the authority of the village community (and the headmen's influence), while the type of individual ownership of plain land asserts the right of the family heads and by and by will break up the power of the village community. Mr. Das' article is quite interesting, but makes the impression of being a detail torn out of a more complete picture such as is found in Colonel Shakespear's above mentioned work. Still it should be read by all students of social economics of primitive peoples.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, 15th August 1938.

THE NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

A monthly journal published at Bombay.

We have received for review two numbers of the first volume of the *New Indian Antiquary*, the management of which is to be congratulated upon the happy choice of the name of a well known periodical which had ceased publication some five years ago. The scope includes every subject connected with Indology and Oriental Learning, and, as the Editors have pointed out in a foreword (Vol. I, no. 1, p. iii), the journal is intended to fill a much needed gap, namely the lack of space in current *Quarterlies*, and to provide a medium of expression for research scholars.

In the first number of Volume I, there are articles on a variety of subjects of Indology. The *pièce de résistance* is perhaps *The Buddhist Tantric Literature (Sanskrit) of Bengal*, pp. 1-23, by S. K. De. It gives a survey of this literature which flourished under the Buddhist Pāla kings of the 10th and 11th centuries. The Tantric system was developed out of Mahayanism and consisted mostly of esoteric doctrines and rituals couched in a highly obscure and perhaps symbolic language. Most of it is lost in Sanskrit but is preserved in Tibetan translations. The author makes a detailed resumé of the various masters of Tantrism and their works in a chronological sequence with special attention to their identity and provenance. The article is fully supported by references in footnotes.

In *Southern India, Arabia and Africa*, pp. 24-36, Mr. Nilkanta Sastri summarises the research work being done in connection with the relationship between South India and her western neighbours.

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's *Notes on the Kathā Upanishad*, are published in instalments and both numbers under review contain them—a *valli* being published in each number. The author is of course the authority on the Kathā Upanishad.

A short article on *Schopenhauer and India* by Heinrich Zimmer is a variation in style from other contributions. Its German original was published in the Jubilee volume of the Schopenhauer Society to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the great philosopher's birthday. The present is an abridged English version. Its gist may be almost summed up by a sentence in the peroration: *to Schopenhauer was given, not the mentality. . . . but a genuine glimmer of this vision (i.e., vision of reality, in India).*

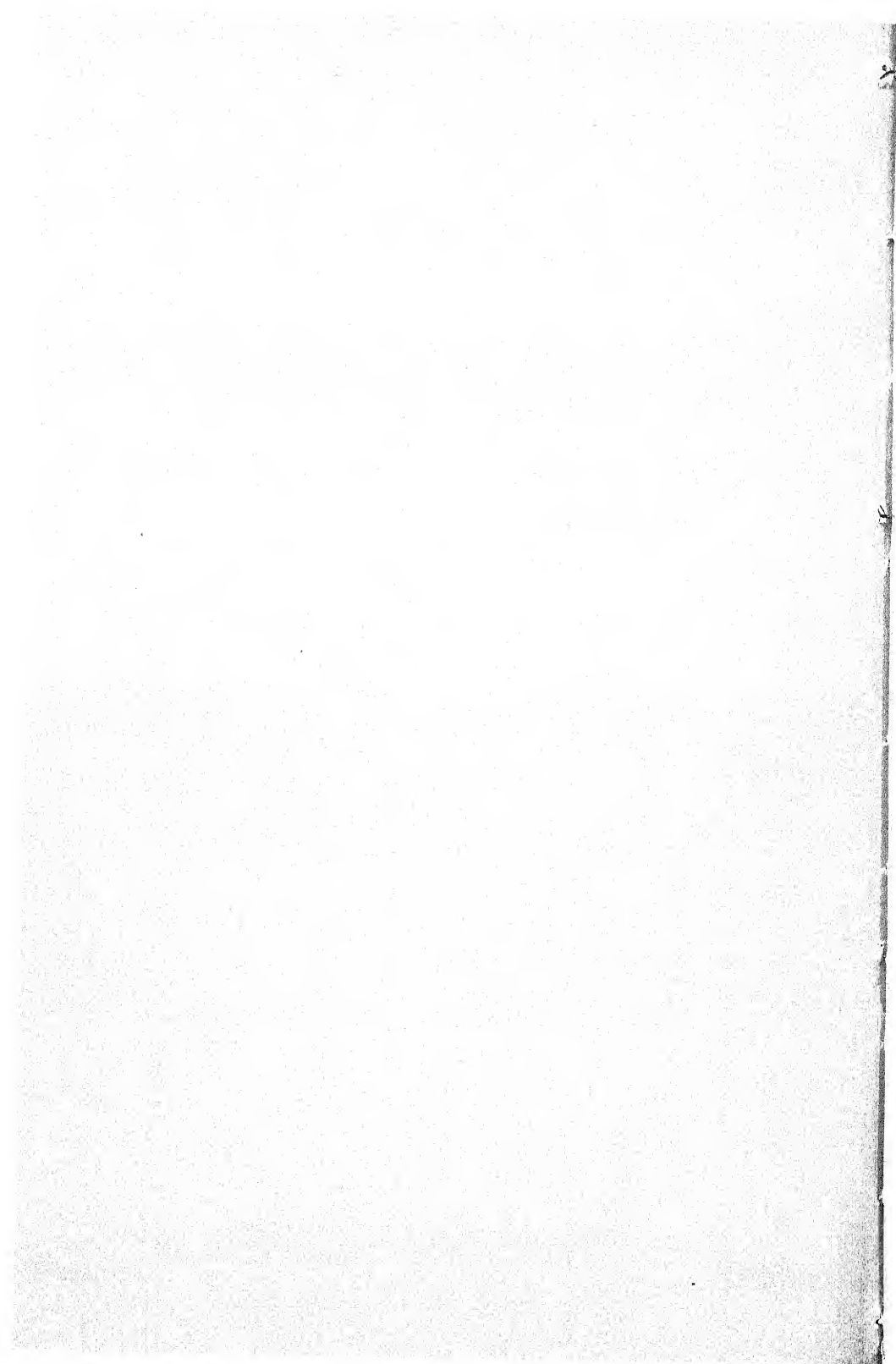
Most of the other contributions are on literary or philosophical subjects. The best known of the remaining contributors is without doubt Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, who writes in her usual vivid manner on the subject of *A Hallmark of Man and of Religion*, pp. 77-80, an interesting phase of Indian Thought.

The second volume also consists largely of matters literary and philosophical, although Linguistics is much to the fore by the inclusion of an article: *Echo-words in Toda*, by M. B. Emeneau, pp. 109-117. A biography of *Sambhaji Angria* by Surendranath Sen, pp. 118-126, provides interesting reading.

To judge from the two numbers under review the Journal should be welcome in all Indological quarters. What, however, would more interest us on this side of the Indian Ocean would be matters concerning that phase of Indology which deals with what has been often termed Greater India, especially the eastern portion of it, on which subject no article has as yet been included.

D.

Bangkok, 19th August, 1938.



PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST IN OTHER JOURNALS.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology.

Vol. XI, 1936.

Mauger, H.: *The Phnom Bayang*, pp. 18-24.

A 7th Century Khmer temple, romantically situated on a steep hillside (pictures given) in Tàkéo province of Cambodia; it forms with its avenue of approach an imposing monument, consisting of a sanctuary, a *maṇḍapa*, and a *pràsàt*.

Stutterheim, W. F.: *The Exploration of Mount Pananggungan, eastern Java*, pp. 25-30.

The shape of this mount first attracted the author's attention because it corresponded with the traditional Indian conception of the great Meru of Indian Cosmology; and was therefore likely to have enjoyed some degree of sanctity in earlier times, so that there was every likelihood of religious monuments having been built. Upon later examination, which was facilitated by a forest fire, the conjecture came true. Dr. Stutterheim describes the monuments and gives also a local legend of its having been the top of the original Mount Meru transferred hither from India.

Journal Asiatique.

Tome CCXXIX, Avril-Juin 1937.

Renou, L.: *Notes sur les origines védiques de Ganéśa*, pp. 271-274.

The question revolves round the discovery of a passage in the *Taittirīya Aranyaka* of an elephant-headed deity.

Bulletin de la Société des Etudes indochinoises.

nouvelle série Tome XII, no. 2, 1937.

Marchal, H.: *Le Nāga dans l'Art khmèr*, pp. 9-18.

The writer believes that in no country has the cult of the serpent been conveyed in a form so sculpturally and artistically perfect as in

Cambodia between the VII and XIII centuries. Studies are made in this article of the different examples of the decorative *motifs* of the *Nāga* on the monuments of Khmer art.

Stern, Ph. : *Le Temple khmèr : formation et développement du Temple-Montagne*, pp. 83-88.

In a clear and readable manner the author presents us with a reconstruction of the history of Khmer architecture with regard to its temples. The characteristic of this art is the amalgamation of two originally separate elements: the sanctuary-tower and the tiered platform, or *pyramide à degrés* as he calls it. The decisive moment of this evolution came when the sanctuary-towers were placed upon the pyramid, such as at Phnom Bakhèng and eastern Mébôn.

He then goes on to deal with the development of the two separate themes as well as of the gallery and the material employed, citing for examples the various monuments with their dates (revised). The gallery like the towers were placed upon the platform at first with some hesitation but became later consummated at Tàkéo and Angkor Wat. As for material, brick was at first used but was gradually replaced by sandstone and laterite, Tàkéo again being an evidence of the turning point.

Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient.

Tome XXXVI, fasc. 2, Avril-Juin 1937.

Martini, F.: *Dasabodhisatta-wādesa*, pp. 271-413.

The work dealt with is a part of the *Anāgatawaṃsa*. It adds to the legend of Metteyya the stories of nine other *future Buddhas*. It bears no date, no names of scribes, and no indication as to the redaction of the original. There are reasons, in the author's opinion, for believing that the person who wrote this was a Cambodian, for the work is written in bad Pali of the literary type which drew its inspiration from mediaeval Siam and Cambodia and bears resemblance to the *Samgitivaṃsa* of Siam. The author's treatment consists of an edition of the Pali text, a French translation, an index and appendices.

Dupont, P.: *L'Art du Kulén et les Débuts de la Statuaire angkoriennne*, pp. 415-426.

An interesting article on the Angkor period of Khmer Art, illustrated by some 15 plates.

Burnay, J: *A propos des Inscriptions portugaises de deux canons cochinchinois à Bangkok*, pp. 437-440.

This rectifies certain points of interpretation of the Portuguese inscriptions on the two canons as published in the *Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué* (1919) by the Rev. Père Cadière.

Goloubew, V.: *Reconnaissances aeriennes au Cambodge*, pp. 465-477.

Students of ancient Khmer geography have come to realise the extent to which ancient sites can be localised and realised in their proper proportions by aerial photography. The discovery of an older Angkor Thom around the pivot of Mount Bâkhèng is a classic example. M. Goloubew here describes to us in his usual vivid manner his aerial progress over (1) Bantây Prei Nokor in Kampon Čâm, and (2) the region of Añkor and the Phnom Kulên which covered the most interesting area of ancient Khmer civilisation. The article is illustrated by 4 plans and 5 plates.

*Verhandlungen van het Koninklijk Instituut
vor Taal-,Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.*

Deel 1, 1938.

Terpstra, H. : *De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie de Patani*, pp. 1-246.

The *transactions* of the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Netherlands Indies seem to be published for the first time and are separate from the well-known *Bijdragen* of the same Institute. This number is entirely taken up by Dr. Terpstra's article on the Factory of the East India Company at Pattani, a concern which exercised not a little influence upon contemporary history in Ayudhya. Mentions of it abound in the *Analysis of van Vliet's Historical Account* published in this and the preceding numbers of our Journal. It is written in Dutch and is complete with a map and an index.

Bulletin of the Raffles Museum, Singapore.

series B., Vol. I, no. 2, 1937.

Collings, H. D.: *Recent Finds of Iron-age sites in southern Perak and Selangor*, pp. 75-93.

do. no. 3,

Evans, I. H. N.: "*Melanesoid*" *Culture in Malaya*, pp. 141-146.

An answer to Dr. van Stein Callenfels' *Melanesoid Civilisation of Eastern Asia* (in the same Bulletin, ser. B, no. 1, May 1936).

Stutterheim, W. F.: Note on a "*neo-Megalith*" in old Batavia, pp. 147-149, 1 plate.

Callenfels, P. V. van Stein,: *The Age of Bronze Kettledrums*, pp. 150-153, 1 plate.

These drums are of particular interest for readers in this country, especially those interested in Court ceremonial, since they are employed there as accompaniments to ceremonial fanfares. The Siamese Court also uses miniatures of these in the form of what has been termed *Pāṇḍava drums*, or colloquially the *Pongpong*. The age is fixed at about 100 A. D.

The Journal of the Malayan branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Vol. XV, part 3, Dec. 1937.

Braddell, R.: *An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca* (contd.), § 3 Pre-Funan, pp. 64-126.

This section deals with the introduction of the Indians into the history of the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca, and takes up among other interesting topics the much debated controversy of the situation of Lankā of the story of Rama. Without giving a pronouncement either way, the author deals at some length with the evidences of a "very strong connection in Malay tradition" between the name Lankā and the island of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. The possibility of Kedah territory being associated with the name is also dealt with.

Vol. XVI, part 1, 1938.

Maxwell, C. N. : *Language Affinities*, pp. 1-99.

The affinities treated are between the Malay, Sanskrit and Bantu dialects of Africa, with ultimate references to European languages.

Wurtzburg, C. E. : *A Letter from Captain Light to Lord Cornwallis*, 1788. pp. 115-122.

Interesting on account of references to this country.

21st August, 1938.

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ERRATA TO VOL. XXX PT. 2.

- p. 242, l. 8, *after* as the capital of, *add*: a
- p. 245, l. 18, *read*: vāmarāja.
- p. 246, l. 27, *after*: than the, *add*: 6th;
- p. 249, l. 2, *read*: Fêtes et Cérémonies Siamois.
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